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The I.W.W. in theory and practice

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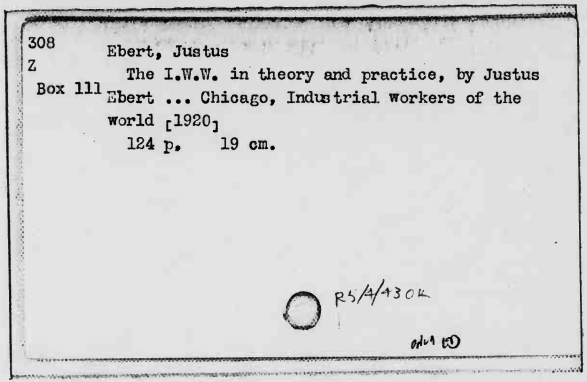
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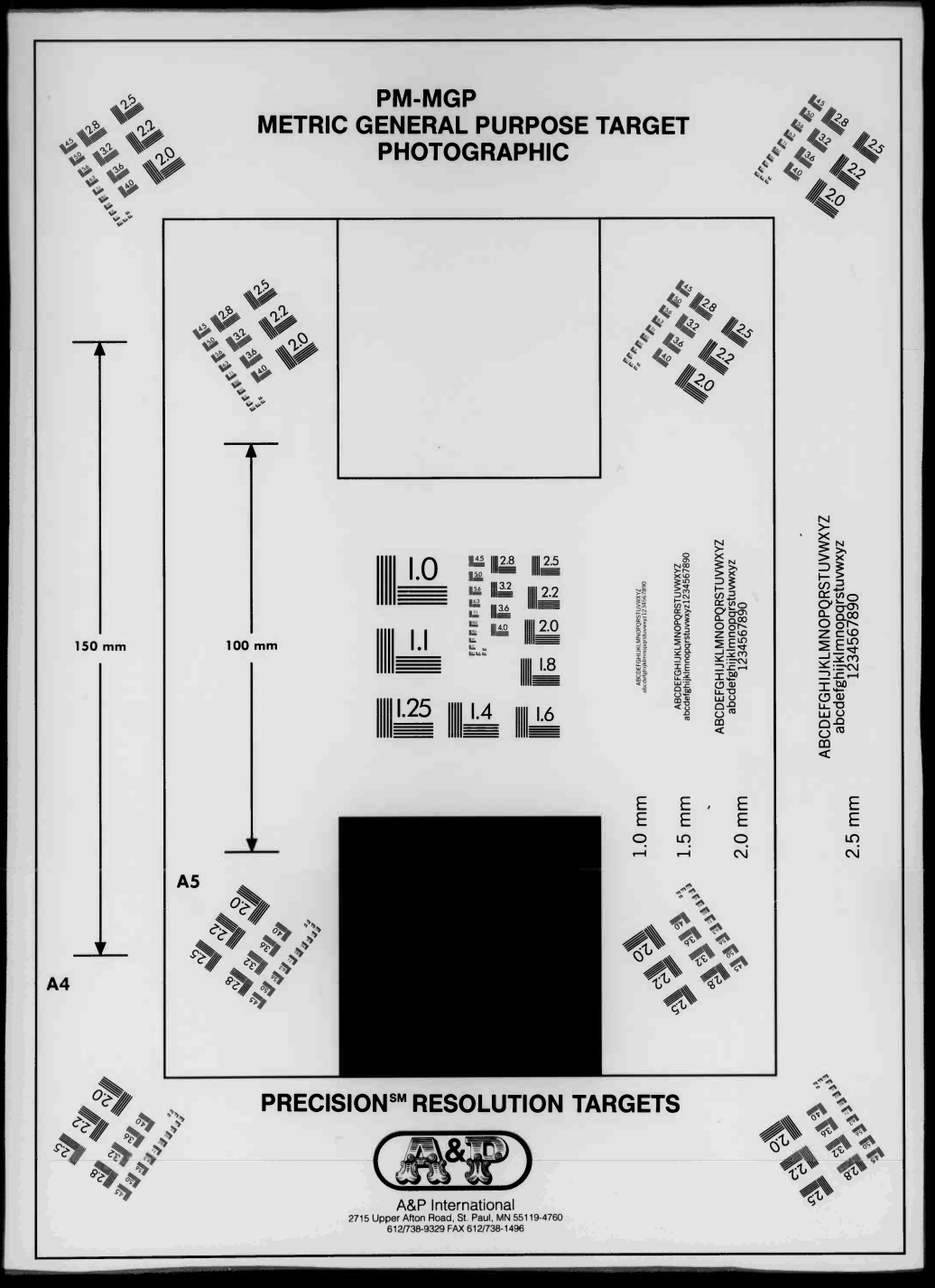
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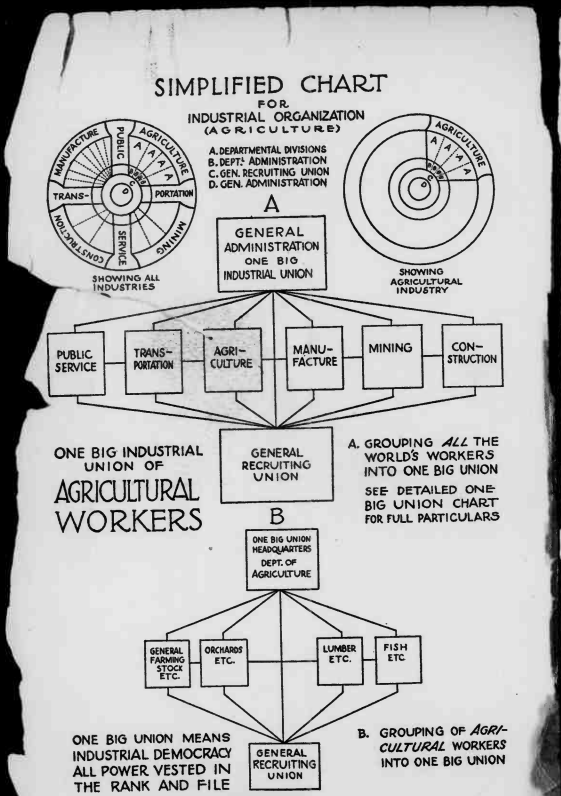
The I·W·W
IN
THEORY & PRACTICE

This is the object of the I.W.W.~to give Labor a form of organization that will make it invincible

JUSTUS EBERT

(1920)



THE I. W. W.

IN

THEORY AND PRACTICE

By JUSTUS EBERT

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FOREWORD

This book is an attempt to give the reader, in as simple language as possible, an understanding of The Industrial Workers of the World, better known by its initial letters as "The I. W. W."

It is called "The I. W. W. in Theory and Practice," because it tries to tell, in a few brief pages, all the I. W. W. stands for, why and how it stands for it, and what it has done and is doing to realize its objects.

Both in theory and practice the I. W. W. begins and ends with the idea that, as the world's industrial workers run the world's industries, they should own and control them as well.

World events are forcing the world's industrial workers to the front. They show that the success of governments and wars depends on the men and women in the mine, workshop, mill, counting room and bank; and on the farms, railroads and ships. These events are doing even more. They are forcing the principles of the I. W. W. into practice in many places in many ways, vindicating the soundness of the I. W. W.

The reader does not need to be reminded of Russia. In the land of the ex-Czar, the principle of workers' ownership, management and control is the foundation of a new social order. Nor should he be reminded of the U. S. A. The Plumb plan, with its part management of the railroad by the railroad

workers, for instance. This is one of many events showing that this country is becoming I. W. W. not only in theory but also in fact.

The I. W. W. made known the principles of workers' ownership, control and management before the war forced Russia to introduce these principles, and the Plumb plan to embody them in part. Further, the I. W. W. worked for them, suffered for them, nay, died for them! The I. W. W. in organizing unions of the workers industrially and striking industrially, made plain how those principles could and would be introduced. World history—American history—now vindicates the I. W. W.!

"The I. W. W. in Theory and Practice" should, on all these accounts, prove of interest to the workers everywhere. It will help them to understand what is back of the I. W. W.—in brief, what it means.

It will also help them to understand, not only the I. W. W., but their own position in the world today —their own destinies and how to direct them; their own aspirations and how to realize them.

Reader, do not destroy this handbook. Pass it among your fellow workers wherever you are employed. It is your book. It is their book. It is the book of the world's industrial workers—the world's working class!

The I. W. W. in Theory and Practice

1.—THE I. W. W. AND ITS BACKGROUND.

The one big feature of the I. W. W. is the way that it continues to live in spite of all attempts to destroy it. It gains renewed vigor in the face of attempted destruction. Wm. D. Haywood well says, "With drops of blood the history of the I. W. W. has been written." He might have added, "And also revised and enlarged."

Organized at Chicago, in June, 1905, the I. W. W. has since been subjected to every outrage and inhumanity. I. W. W. members have been lynched, murdered, tarred and feathered, deported, starved, beaten, denied the right of citizenship, exiled, their homes invaded, their private property and papers seized. They have been denied the privilege of defense, held on exorbitant bail, subjected to involuntary servitude, kidnapped, cruelly and unjustly punished, "framed" and unjustly accused, excessively fined. They have died in jail waiting for trial, been driven insane through persecution, denied the use of the mail and the rights to organize, free speech, free press, free assembly. They have been denied every privilege guaranteed by the Bill of Rights and all the inherent rights proclaimed by the

Declaration of Independence—Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness.

Again and again have I. W. W. halls, offices and headquarters been illegally raided. Again and again have I. W. W. property, books, pamphlets, stamps, literature and office fixtures been unlawfully seized. Repeatedly have the I. W. W. organization and membership been viciously maligned, vilified and persecuted. Press, pulpit, "labor" organizations, socialist elements—aye, even anarchist and syndicalists—have tried to destroy it.

CAPITALISM—SECRET OF I. W. W. GROWTH.

Still, in spite of them all, the I. W. W. grows in organization and numbers. Where other organizations would have died, it flourishes! What is even more important, it grows as an idea, a spirit, an influence, energy and force, that affects large numbers of workers outside of its folds—directs their actions and shapes their aspirations; in fact, develops and elevates them into conscious power; not only in the U. S. A., but also abroad.

How are these striking facts to be explained? Are the principles of the I. W. W. immortal? Do they alone make it possible to save civilization from the war and collapse due to the greed and corruption of present-day profiteers and capitalists? Do they alone provide the means by which the change from the old to a new social order, now impending, may be made easy?

Let the facts regarding the constant renewal of the I. W. W. organization and the application of I. W. W. principles the world over answer these questions. Let us also look for another answer elsewhere. Let us seek an answer in the growth of present-day capitalism. We may then realize that the I. W. W. is an outgrowth of the capitalist system.

That, as such, it can only be destroyed when that system is destroyed. Kill capitalism and you kill the

I. W. W. Vice-versa, continue capitalism ever more vigorously and you enrich the soil in which the I. W. W. flourishes.

WHAT CAPITALISM IS — CO-OPERATION OF THE MANY FOR THE PROFIT OF THE FEW.

When we speak of capitalism we mean the present-day system of industry especially. Professor McVey in his book, "Modern Industrialism," defines modern industry as the massing of men, machines and capital in the creating of goods. A simpler definition would be "the massing of labor and capital," for men represent labor and machines capital. What is intended in the McVey definition is to put forth the idea of labor (men, women, and children), fixed capital (land, buildings, machines, etc.) and working capital (cash and credit) as the important elements of modern industry.

Because the capital invested in modern industry is owned by private individuals, called capitalists, and is used by them to exploit labor primarily for their own private profit, modern industry is also known as capitalism. Further, because it gives labor only a part of that which it produces for the capitalists, in the form of wages, and binds the workers through capitalist ownership to the control of the capitalist class, it is also called wage slavery. And thanks to its introduction and extensive use of machinery, driven by power and displacing both labor and skill, modern industry is also called machine production.

In modern industry, raw material is taken from the earth, passed through smelters, mills and factories where it is changed into articles of sale, and then distributed to domestic and foreign markets by way of selling agencies, railroads and steamships. The whole transaction is made possible and facilitated by means of money and credit—by banks and banking. So that modern industry is a working together

of agriculture, mining, lumbering, manufacturing, transportation, communication, commerce and finance. Without the constant co-operation of millions of laborers employed in these various sub-divisions there can be no industry in the modern sense.

GROWTH OF MODERN CAPITALISM.

Previous to modern industry, there was no great massing of labor and capital for the profit of capitalists; nor was there extensive machinery. The individual owner and worker, who took all the products, most largely prevailed, and hand tools and skill were the general, rule. Gradually firms, co-partnerships, corporations and trusts evolved, each absorbing all that labor produced, and consolidating the industrial types that preceded it. All this was due to the invention and introduction of machines that displaced labor and skill, and required more capital than individuals possessed or cared to risk! Hence arose also the need of massing the small capitals of many into large capital. Where at first merchants had supplied the needed capital, now stocks and stock exchanges are required, assisted by banks, trust companies and such fiduciary institutions as the life insurance companies, all dominated by banking groups controlled by a few giant capitalists and financiers.

THE TRUSTS AND INDUSTRIAL EMPIRES.

Some big combinations of capital unite all the subdivisions of modern industry within themselves. They own and control their own lands, mines, ore deposits, oil fields, forests, pipe lines, steamship companies, railroads, selling agencies, banks, etc.—each employing for wages and salaries tens of thousands of workers, including every degree of ability and skill, from that of executive superintendence and inventive development, to the most simple labor.

Where, at one time, numerous independent corporations performed these various functions in competition with one another, they are now concentrated in, and performed by these big consolidations.

A notable example of this type of combination is the United States Steel Corporation. Organized in 1902, its capitalization in the first year was $1,383,000,000. Since that time the capitalization has been increased to $1,451,000,000. The report of the corporation for 1918 shows that it owns 124 blast furnaces, 334 open hearth furnaces, 38 bessemer converters, 313 steamers and barges, 61,999 cars, 1,421 locomotives, 3,721 miles of railway and 1,000,000,000 tons of iron ore. The total assets of the steel corporation have increased one billion of dollars since its organization. At the present writing they are $2,572,000,000. In 1918 its bank account was nearly $200,000,000, nearly all in banks owned and controlled by it. The properties, agencies, etc., of the steel trust are located in and spread over all the states of the union, and extend into every civilized country on the globe, particularly into South American countries. The U. S. Steel Corporation has very appropriately been called "An Industrial Empire."

Where the trusts do not own and operate all the agencies of either supply or distribution, as in the packers' combination, which does not own the farms of the country, or the coal trust, which does not own the middlemen's yards or the retailers' basement shops, these agencies are so dependent on the big combinations as to be entirely within their power and unable to exist without them. Yet this situation was unknown in this country fifty years ago; the beginnings of the trust movement having been first observed only in the 80s of the last century.

Capitalist combinations are expanding in all directions. They are going into retailing, as in the case of the Tobacco Trust interests, which are behind the United Cigar Stores Co., and the Liggett-Riker-Hageman Drug Stores; and the Childs Restaurants, which

are backed by the Standard Oil interests. These stores are now preparing to push the chain-of-stores idea into cutlery, clothing and other retail branches. To this end they are purchasing and consolidating companies manufacturing these products.

TRUSTS NON-PATRIOTIC—EMBRACE WHOLE WORLD.

The growing international character of "our" colossal combinations of capital next commands attention. One instance is given in the report of the Federal Trade Commission on the "Big Five" meat packers' combination. According to this report, Armour, Morris, Wilson, Swift and Cudahy, will soon control the food of the world. These five concerns rule 574 companies, have an interest in 188 others, and deal in 775 commodities. They have a meat monopoly and exploit beef raising in South America, tea raising in the Orient, and the manufacture of grape juice in New York State. Europe is dotted with their branches. All attempts to regulate them have failed, and the government has been charged with collusion with them to maintain the high cost of food the world over. Their power is local, national and international.

Then there is the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, which owns numerous oil properties and thirteen refineries—seven in the United States, four in Canada, one in Mexico and one in Peru; its pipe lines cover many states; it operates can factories, barrel factories, canning plants, glue factories and pipe shops; it has an ocean-going fleet of fifty-four vessels; it has branches and marketing machinery in Central America, South America, the West Indies, Great Britain, Italy, France, Germany, Roumania and South Africa. Some years ago it invaded China and undertook to develop its oil fields in partnership with the Empire then in existence.

These illustrations show that present-day industry

is no longer patriotic. It embraces all the countries of the world. It makes conditions uniform all over the world. It is worse, in its monotonous tendencies, than communism is alleged to be.

WHOLE WORLD MADE ONE BIG INDUSTRY

1914

The world-nature of modern industry was shown in the beginning of the world-war. In its September, 1914, letter, the National City Bank of New York, the largest in this country and a Standard Oil institution to boot, described the havoc then caused in these truly impressive words:

> The whole world has tended to become one community with a network of interests and state of interdependence similar to that which exists in a single country. A few weeks ago men were buying and selling, lending and borrowing, contracting and planning, with little attention to national boundaries, when suddenly the whole co-operative system was disrupted. Raw materials were cut off from factories accustomed to use them, factories from markets, food supplies from consumers, and millions of men were summoned from mutually helpful industries to face each other as mortal foes. An outburst of primitive passion in a corner of Europe wrecked the painfully developed structure of modern civilization.

The steps in the growth of modern industry are interesting and many. In the first stage, known as the age of concentration, the trust consolidated many corporations into one, just as in a previous stage these corporations had united many companies. In the second stage, known as the age of integration, many trusts were bound together in single units. In the third stage, known as the period of state control for war purposes, all combinations were more highly solidified, developed and financed under federal patronage and supervision. In the fourth and present stage, state control and inter-association prevail. The state still continues its patronage and supervision, which tend to decline. In its place rises the associations by which the big combinations

act together under private guidance and control. The American Institute of Steel and Iron, for instance, is the name under which all the steel and iron combinations unite to regulate prices and discuss problems to their own advantage. Likewise is the Foreign Trade Export Council, an association representing over four billions of capital interested in securing foreign markets. Lesser illustrations are the United States Chamber of Commerce, which unites all corporations and associations, whether large or small, mainly for domestic protection and advancement.

THE MONEY TRUST—THE TRUST OF TRUSTS.

But over and above all these bodies, uniting and conserving their interests, are the Morgan-Rockefeller groups of bankers. They, through their control of finance, are the dominant factors in modern industry in this country. The strategic capital of the country—its land, lumber, mineral resources, basic manufactures, railroads, telegraphs, telephones, trolleys, light, heat and power, steamships, banks, are theirs by right of ownership and control.

Louis Brandeis in his book, "Other People's Money, and How the Banks Use It," shows how finance is concentrated and the total credit of the country is exploited by allied groups of private bankers headed by Morgan-Rockefeller. President Wilson, when Governor, declared in 1911, "A great industrial nation is controlled by its system of credit."

ENORMOUS CONTROL OF MONEY TRUST.

Brandeis quotes the Pujo Committee report on the Money Trust. This committee found that the Morgan-Rockefeller allied groups of private bankers held:

> In all, 341 directorships in 112 corporations, having aggregate resources or capitalizations of $22,245,000,000.

> Twenty-two billion dollars is a large sum—so large that we have difficulty in grasping its significance. The mind realizes size only through comparisons. With what can we compare twenty-two billions of dollars? Twenty-two billions of dollars is more than three times the assessed value of all property, real and personal, in all New England. It is nearly three times the assessed vaue of all the real estate in the city of New York. It is more than twice the assessed value of all the property in the thirteen southern states. It is more than the assessed value of all the property in the twenty-two states, North and South, lying west of the Mississippi.

Brandeis believes that this "understates the extent of concentration affected by the inner group of the Money Trusts." (Pages 33-35.)

WAR EXTENDS MONEY TRUST'S GRASP.

These words were written in 1914, before the establishment of the Federal Reserve Bank. But as the Federal Reserve Bank is owned by its stockholders, composed of member banks, the grasp of the Morgan-Rockefeller groups on the finance of the country remains unbroken. The war has, if anything, extended and tightened this grasp. It has changed this country from a money-borrowing into a money-lending country, and has made Wall Street, New York, the rival of Lombard Street, London, as the financial center of the world. Nine billions of dollars are now due the financial controllers of this country to be paid by Europe,, which formerly held two billions in stocks and bonds against them.

The Morgan group are governmental, international bankers, with branches in England and France. They handled the enormous loans and purchases of the allies in this country during the war, amounting to billions in profits. Mr. Frank Vanderlip of the Standard Oil group was President Wilson's financial adviser. His group is representative of the new type of industrial, international financiers. They aim to export capital and establish corporations

all over the world. To this end they have launched The International Banking Corporation. The capital is nominally $50,000,000. The actual backing amounts to billions controlled by corporations and banks.

WORLD CONNECTIONS OF MONEY TRUST.

During the war the press reported a meeting of international bankers that was held in a neutral country for the purpose of trying to end the war. The situation, however, was beyond their control. Now, Mr. Vanderlip proposes an international commission of bankers to finance Europe and save it from collapse and Bolshevism. Will this move fail, too?

Following Mr. Vanderlip's suggestion, there came a report that the most powerful banking groups in the world, headed by J. P. Morgan & Co., of New York, and including British and French bankers, besides other American firms, have organized themselves to protect the "rights of foreign investors in Mexico." These groups were also the cause of the Russian problem, with its undeclared war, blockade, and attempted destruction of the Soviet Republic.

Since the war the press has reported many conferences of international financiers in this country for the purpose of rehabilitating Europe and securing the dominance of capitalism over all the nations of the world.

These facts show that from a nation without trusts, the United States has become, in fifty years, a nation with trusts, that are dominated by a trust of trusts, the money trust, which operates in union with the money trusts of other nations. All these nations, are, in turn, dominated by this stupendous international trust—this financial oligarchy of the world.

Such has been modern industrial development.

EFFECTS OF MODERN INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

The modern industrial revolution from small to large industry and from national isolation to international ramification and financial domination, was accompanied by other revolutions at home and abroad. The population drifts from the land to the city. Farm ownership changes, farm tenancy and laborers increase. Industrial independence gives way to servility; the individual laborer to industrial armies. Even opportunities with corporations vanish. Conditions are uncertain; seasonal employment and lack of employment grow. Skill declines; the homeless, migratory, unskilled worker makes his appearance. Wealth concentrates; corporation levies on the wealth of the country pile up. Tens of millions are in poverty. Prices soar beyond wages. Crises become more serious and threatening. Wars occur; civilization is disrupted and social cataclysm seems near.

POPULATION DRIFTS TO CITIES.

In 1800, four per cent of the population lived in six American cities having a population of over 8,000 persons. In 1910, 46.3 per cent lived in towns and cities of 2,500 and over. One in every fifteen persons living in the United States in 1910 resided in New York City and its suburbs. The farm fails to attract; the needs of industry do.

INDEPENDENT FARMER DISAPPEARS CORPORATION FARM APPEARS.

The census figures for 1914 show 12,659,000 persons occupied in agricultural pursuits. Of this number over one-half are laborers. Of the other half from two to three millions are tenants.

Farms are growing larger. In 1900 there were 47,160 farms containing 1,000 or more acres each.

In 1910, the number increased to 50,135. The corporation ranch, like that of the Taft Co., has arrived. This farm contains 150 square miles of Texas land. On it are company packing houses, cotton gins, ice plans, machine shops, and electric lighting plants. The workers live in company houses and buy in company stores. The factory system is taken to the farm.

Corporation farming will grow more in the future. Tenancy increases with the increase in land values and capital required. These, together with high prices and the lack of investment opportunities elsewhere, are causing big capital to look toward agriculture as its next field of conquest.

INDUSTRIAL OPPORTUNITY VANISHES

The way industrial independence has been ousted by servility is shown in the following facts and figures: The United States Steel Corporation employes 68,000 persons, the General Electric Co. 75,000; the Ford Co. 60,000. Armies take the place of individuals, under the control of corporation employers. The policy of the latter is one of paternalism, slightly modified by labor union organization, or the fear of it.

The 1914 Census gives 8,263,153 persons as the total number engaged in manufacturing industries. Only sixty-one in 1,000 are proprietors and officials. Eighty-eight in each 1,000 are clerks and other subordinate salaried employees. The remaining 851 are wage earners. In the railroad industry, the figures are 1,710,296, for all employees. General officers number 5,750; other officers, 11,153; office clerks, 87,106. That is, the general and minor officers number ten in 1,000, or one per cent. These figures show what chance a worker has to own an industry or railroad, or even to become an officer or clerk.

IRREGULAR EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT INCREASE.

The workers do not even have regular employment. In the San Francisco Bay region, during the war year, 1918, fourteen establishments with 14,083 full time employees hired during the year 32,489 persons; 4,000 stayed one week or less; 53 per cent were on the job for less than three months. In the Chicago stock yards 25 per cent of the employees are out of work during the year in some plants. This "turn-over" of labor is typical, especially in big corporations. The army of casual, unemployed labor must be great for their fluctuating needs.

In 1914, just before the European war, the unemployed numbered from three to five millions. Now that the war has subsided, and left capitalism at least 20 per cent more productive than before, the war, unemployment is on the increase again. It threatens to become unprecedented.

RISE OF UNSKILLED, MIGRATORY WORKER.

Most employment tends to become unskilled. This is due to machinery and the minute splitting up of tasks which it permits. Efficiency experts help along the process. Prof. Hoxie, in one of his books, tells of a plant expert who offered to teach him a certain part of a process in thirty minutes.

This unskill admits of the employment of farmers, women and children, in the machine shop and corporation offices. Because of it, men flit from industry to industry; from city to city. It makes the worker inter-industrial and a "runabout," i. e., migratory worker.

MALNUTRITION, PHYSICAL DECLINE AND OTHER ILLS ABOUND.

Consider some other effects of capitalism on modern social life. Dr. Thomas Wood states that

20 per cent at least of all American school children, or 4,500,000, are suffering from malnutrition. Dr. R. P. Emerson, a Boston authority, says that the malnourished children are at least a third of all the children in the country. Capitalism underfeeds and starves.

A report by Provost Marshall General Crowder shows that 3,208,446 men were examined by the draft boards. Under greatly modified requirements, 621,606 men, or one-sixth of the number examined, were rejected as wholly unfit to serve in the army. Capitalism conduces to physical deterioration.

It is estimated that there is a shortage of a million and more dwelling houses in the United States.

Rents in all large cities are steadily increasing. From fifty to sixty per cent is the average, though in some cases they have been doubled and trebled. Rent strikes are now a feature of city life. So are strikes against increased food prices and trolley fares, especially through the introduction of the zone system. Capitalism increasingly produces disorder.

PRICES SOAR 'WAY ABOVE WAGES.

During the past twenty years food prices have been steadily rising.

The "Annalist" (New York) publishes an index number of food prices, covering twenty-five articles selected and arranged to represent an average family budget. The index number for 1890 was 109.252; for 1896, 80,096; for 1914, 146.069; for March 8, 1919, 287.461. That means that the prices of food in March, 1919, were twice what they were in 1914; nearly three times what they were in 1890, and over three and a half times what they were in 1896.

Edward Bouton, Jr., puts the increase in prices according to the "Annalist's" Index Number thus: "A dollar will now only purchase 26.6 per cent as much of the necessities of life as it would purchase

in 1896. It has lost 73.4 per cent of its purchasing power in twenty-three years, or 3.19 per cent each year."

Other prices show the same tendency, all over the world. In this country, average prices advanced 84 per cent, while in England, about 64 per cent, from 1896 to 1914, so-called normal years.

The United States Department of Labor estimates that since 1914, in the City of New York, the cost of living had risen 103.8 per cent up to December, 1919.

Since November, 1919, the Industrial Conference Board, maintained by corporate interests, states that there has been an additional increase of 7 per cent ending March, 1920, in the entire country.

A New York City wageworker getting $5 a day in 1914, if he is as well off as five years ago, should be getting $10.55 a day for his labor. The labor unions of New York claim that they are relatively worse off, as wages have not increased the same as prices.

Byron W. Holt, in his Chautaqua address, July 13, 1914, on "The Fundamental Causes of High Prices," has this to say concerning prices and labor unions: "If labor unions were an important factor in high prices we should expect to see wages rise faster than prices. On the contrary, average wages have risen only about half as much as prices during the last eighteen years. Prices go up the elevator while wages climb the stairs."

FEW RECEIVE NECESSARY MINIMUM WAGE.

Despite the war, wages show no great advances over pre-war averages for the workers. In Massachusetts industries in 1917, 530,890 men were employed. Only 13.5 per cent received a yearly wage rate in excess of $1,300, which is considered necessary for a family of five. The majority received less than $20 a week. In the shoe industry of the United

States, the great body of low unskilled male workers received in 1919, $16 weekly. This is a little more than half the minimum family wage. In the District of Columbia, three-fourths of the women employed in the printing industry worked for less than the amount of $16 a week, the minimum standard of living for women in that district. Ellis Searles, editor Mine Workers' Journal, declares that from October, 1918, to October, 1919, the 90,000 miners of Illinois earned an average of about $800 each; the 27,000 miners of Indiana earned about the same; the 42,000 miners of Ohio about $700 and the 45,000 miners of Pennsylvania about $750 each. This in a "good prosperous year."

These are typical illustrations.

WEALTH CONCENTRATES IN EVER FEWER HANDS.

Consider, the net income of the United States was thirty-five billions in 1915 and seventy-three billions in 1918—an increase of over 100 per cent. Where does it all go to? Of a total population of about 102 millions, less than a half million individuals paid income taxes in 1916.

Basil Manly in a Dec. 22, 1918, article written for the Newspaper Enterprise Association, declares:

> The plain fact is, wealth in the United States is being concentrated in the hands of a small number of families, less than one-fiftieth of one per cent of the whole population, at a rate never before known.
>
> In 1910 two per cent of the people of the United States owned 60 per cent of the wealth. Today it is certain this two per cent owns and controls at least 70 per cent of the nation's wealth and resources.

Harry H. Klein, Deputy Commissioner of Accounts, New York, in a recent article entitled, "What Shall We Do With Rockefeller's Fortune?" declares:

> John D. Rockefeller passed his eightieth birthday recently and expressed the hope that he might live one hundred years. Mr. Rockefeller has a fortune

> estimated to exceed two billion dollars. His annual income is estimated at more than one hundred million dollars. If he lives twenty years and his rate of accumulation continues, he will have about FOUR BILLION DOLLARS.

CORPORATIONS DRAIN WEALTH PRODUCTION.

Scott Nearing puts the draft of capitalists and corporations on the wealth produced by the armies of workers as follows:

> The income tax figures for the latest year, 1917, show $4,469,901,354 paid by less than 5 per cent of the adult population, as rent, interest and dividends.
>
> War business was good business. The Wall Street Journal finds that 104 corporations from December 31, 1914, to Dec. 31, 1918, after heavy expenditures for new construction and acquisitions, and record-breaking dividends, added a total of nearly $2,000,000,000 to working capital. Practically all of this increase came from surplus earnings.
>
> Besides that, the inventories showed that the properties of these 104 corporations had increased in value, during the four war years, $1,522,000,000. (Special Service Articles, Nos. 30, 31, Aug. 21-28, 1919.)

The war made 17,000 millionaires. Seventeen thousand million dollars is exactly the same as $17,000,000,000. And $17,000,000,000 is almost the exact sum raised by the first, second, third and fourth Liberty loan drives.

Excessive profiteering during the war and since is responsible for these new millionaires. This profiteering was as high as 290,999 per cent in one instance, that of a steel corporation.

Basil Manly, in the April, 1920, Searchlight Magazine, declares that the net profits earned by American capitalists during the war were equal to the capital stock of practically all the manufacturing plants in the United States. Manly does the best summing up when he says:

> In other words, it is clear that if the national government at the beginning of the war had taken over the essential lines of industry, and the American

people had been required to pay the prices which private manufacturers and merchants have charged them, there would have been sufficient profit to pay every dollar's worth of capital stock, and leave the nation today in possession of practically all its manufacturing plants.

Scott Nearing further declares: "According to a Federal Report 30,000,000 are living in poverty in the United States."

Wealth concentration and poverty—such is the United States today, after fifty years of modern capitalism.

ENTER WARS FOR MARKETS AND INVESTMENT SPHERES.

Added to these extremes are wars—national and class wars. In his September 6 speech at St. Louis, President Wilson assured his hearers that "The seed of war is industrial and commercial rivalry." "This war," (referring to the world war) "is an industrial and commercial war." This war cost $186,000,000,000; 7,450,200 men killed. America's cost was twenty-two billions. More were slain than in 121 years. (Washington dispatch, N. Y. Call, Sept. 22, 1919.)

This war, further, precipitated a social cataclysm, brought on Bolshevism, and laid the basis of future wars. But even if these facts were not present, war would still be a certainty. The war of 1914-1919 came on top of a great world-economic depression that gave forewarning of a class revolution. Today capitalism is running into another depression and is haunted by revolutionary fears. It is compelled to increase prices and output. Either one of these steps increases its perils. Increased prices will increase strikes; increased output, unemployment and social disorder. Already is the nation an armed camp in the war of the classes. This the Boston police and steel strikes make plain. What will be the outcome, another war; another social cataclysm; another Bolshevism?

THE RISE OF ANTI-CAPITALISM.

The conditions produced by modern industry give rise to various endeavors aiming at their reform and abolition, either in part or altogether. The farmers, crushed by the railroads, combinations, and financiers, organized granger, anti-monopoly, anti-trust, greenback, free silver, populists', government ownership and non-partisan movements and leagues. The middle class, crushed in competition with the trusts, and noting their excesses and tendencies, espoused the single-tax, anti-trust, anti-war, free silver, government control and ownership causes. While the workers, ever demanding more control over industry and desiring to emancipate themselves from capitalism and its wars by the abolition of the system, have formed labor unions, labor parties, international workmen's associations and industrial unions aiming to embrace all the industrial workers of the world to take over the World's industries for the world's workers in the impending collapse of capitalist society.

Growth of all kinds must come from within. Modern growth must come from within modern industry—the greatest institution in modern society—from the workers employed therein. International financial oligarchy must be replaced by international labor solidarity, through the international industrial organization, which gives the former its foundation and strength.

WORLD'S WORKERS LOOK TO WORLD'S INDUSTRY.

This growth, as all signs show, is coming the world over. The workers of the world are looking to industry—to themselves—for the redeemers of the world. It is this growth that the I. W. W. anticipated when it organized in 1905. It is this growth that makes the I. W. W. indestructible as an organization, a spirit and an idea today.

The Industrial Workers of the World will only end when world capitalism ends, and the workers' communal society is born.

II.—THE FORERUNNERS OF THE I. W. W.

The Industrial Workers of the World did not spring, like the mythological gods of old, out of nothing. Nor is it another Topsy, that just grew without ever having been born. The Industrial Workers of the World has its origin and parentage in modern economic development and its effects. The present capitalist industrial system is its father, and the labor movement of the past generations its mother. The I. W. W. has a long line of forebears and is proud of its ancestry, both native and foreign, on the maternal side.

Just about one hundred years ago—or in 1820—the United States began to experience an industrial revolution. Then the transformation from household industry to the factory system set in. Transportation was revolutionized by the introduction of the steamboat and the development of canals and turnpikes, and manufactures began to surpass the old industries of shipping and foreign commerce. In these days, along with towns and cities, a labor class began to develop. In New England, the farmers left the land and moved into the textile centers; the daughters worked in the mills. The old conditions began to break down; new ones to take their places. New issues, new class alignments and new movements were thus created.

From 1820 to 1850, the industrial revolution grew. The power loom, the hot air blast in the iron smelting industry, the mower, the reaper, the sewing machine, the friction match, the steam printing press, the use of the screw propeller on steamboats and the steam hammer, were introduced. In 1826, the development of the railroad system began. Locomotive construction began about 1830. The first telegraph line was constructed in 1844. The change was a rapid one—a momentous one.

Along with the introduction of these inventions, came larger cities, more factories, stock companies and a greater division between the capitalist class and the working class. It was during this period that the modern labor movement first appeared in this country. It was then that the workers from the farm and distant lands were brought together in ever increasing numbers in factories and lived together in districts in the cities occupied by themselves exclusively. Under these conditions the workers became conscious of their existence as a separate class in society and began to organize and to exert themselves as such against their employers and the new system generally. It was then that the first of the I. W. W.'s ancestors was born in this country.

I. W. W. POLICY ONE OF CONSTRUCTION.

The I. W. W. believes in three vital things. First, the conflict of interests between capital and labor, that is, the class struggle. Second, the necessity for a labor organization built in conformity with industrial concentration. Third, the abolition of the wages or capitalist system by means of such an organization, under the pressure attending the probable breakdown of capitalism. The I. W. W. calls this "building the new society within the shell of the old."

The I. W. W. policy is a constructive, evolutionary one. It is born of the present system and grew out of it. Throughout the labor movement in past decades, there will be found theories, aspirations and organizations tending in the same general direction as the I. W. W., with ever greater clearness, definiteness, and fulfillment.

CLASS STRUGGLE AN AMERICAN DOCTRINE.

Not Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, but Alexander Hamilton and James Madison, great American

statesmen, both of them, first formulated the doctrine of the class struggle on American soil. Sixty years before the two great socialists gave "The Communist Manifesto" to the world, Hamilton and Madison were arguing as to the proper basis of government before the Philadelphia convention to establish a constitution for the United States. Said Hamilton, in support of life office in and control of, government by the strong and powerful:

> All communities divide themselves into the few and the many. The first are rich and the well-born; the other are the mass of the people.

Madison was even more analytical and specific in his appeal for a factional party government, representative of all the different interests, as a medium wherewith to balance the extremes of autocracy and democracy. Said he:

> Those who hold, and those without property have ever formed distinct interests in society. A landed interest, a manufacturing interest, a mercantile interest, a moneyed interest, with many lesser interests, grow up of necessity in civilized nations, and divide civilized nations of necessity into different classes, actuated by different sentiments and views.

DEVELOPING "THE LESSER INTERESTS."

The industrial development that followed close on the heels of the Philadelphia Convention, with startling rapidity divided society into the class of "the few," called the capitalist class, and the class of "the many," called the working class. It has tended, furthermore, to consolidate the landed, manufacturing, mercantile and moneyed classes into a powerful employing, capitalist and financial class. At the same time, it has developed "the lesser interests"—meaning thereby the interests of the workers in the shops and factories—until they are represented by great labor organizations striving for social control in opposition to the capitalist class.

In the early labor organizations, the class struggle was not so apparent and marked as at the present

time. For instance, the printers' society of New York, founded in 1808, admitted both employer and employee to membership. The New York Typographical Society of 1831, however, had a constitutional clause under which membership was forfeited by journeymen becoming employers. Employers were found to be a clog to progressive action in that they sought to regulate the organization in their own interests. Finally, the breach became a wide-open one, when, in an "Address to the Journeymen Printers of the United States," the first national convention of typographical societies in this country, state bluntly: "There exists a perpetual antagonism between labor and capital."

The change from hand power to steam power printing press, and from small individual to large stock company ownership of establishments, was, no doubt, the cause of this transformation of "views and sentiments," to quote the language of Madison.

THE RISE OF TRADES UNIONISM.

It was also during these early days that labor developed its organization from short-lived strike movements to more permanent forms of unionism. The first labor organization in this country, so far as can be ascertained from the records, was the New York Typographical Society, organized in 1795. It lived two and one-half years. It sought to increase wages and improve conditions. After the trade union was started, the next step was the organization of a trades union, or, as we call it now, a central labor union, or federation, uniting all the local trade bodies.

Prof. John Commons (in his "Labor Organizations and Labor Politics, 1827-1837), declares: "Modern trades unionism as an industrial and political force began with the coming together of previously existing societies from the several trades to form a central body on the representative principle."

Logically, the next phase was that of national trade unions and trades associations. This further development was made necessary by the extensive growth of cities, industries and capitalist interests and aggressions. Thus were the early attempts to organize according to the requirements of industrial development inspired by that development itself.

"THE ABOLITION OF THE WAGES SYSTEM."

It was stated above, that Hamilton and Madison first formulated the doctrine of the class struggle on American soil sixty years in advance of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. In this connection, it may be of interest to know that the demand for "the abolition of the wages system" is also originally American.

The facts in support of these assertions are as follows: In New York City in 1830, two Englishmen, brothers, George Henry Evans and Frederick Evans, published a paper called "Young America." At its head twelve demands were printed. Demand 10 reads:

"10. Abolition of chattel slavery, **and of wages slavery.**"

Bear in mind, this was in 1830! And in New York City, too!

The Evans brothers were remarkable in that they not only anticipated Karl Marx, but also Henry George. They expounded land theories similar to those of "the prophet of San Francisco" fifty years before he was heard of. Their twelve demands were supported by six hundred other papers.

The abolition of the wages system was also discussed by other writers. One of them was Orestes Brownson, a famous writer and friend of the distinguished men of his time. He, possibly, was the first "back-to-the-land" advocate. In his book, published in 1857, and called "The Convert," he argues:

"THE MOTHER EVIL OF MODERN SOCIETY."

"Starting from the democratic theory of man and society, I contend that the great mother evil of modern society was the separation of capital and labor; or the fact that one class of the community owns the funds, and other and a distinct class is compelled to perform the labor of production. The consequence of this system is, that the owners of capital enrich themselves at the expense of the owners of labor. The system of money wages, the modern system, is more profitable to the owners of capital than the slave system is to the slavemasters, and hardly less oppressive to the laborer. The wages, as a general rule, are never sufficient to enable the laborer to place himself on an equal footing with the capitalist. Capital will always command the lion's share of the proceeds. This is seen in the fact that while they who command capital grow rich, the laborer by his simple means at best only obtains a bare subsistence. The whole class of simple laborers are poor, and in general unable to procure by their wages more than the bare necessities of life. The capitalist employs labor that he may grow rich and richer; the laborer sells his labor that he may not die of hunger, he, his wife and little ones, and as the urgency of guarding against hunger is always stronger than that of growing rich or richer, the capitalist holds the laborer at his mercy, and has over him, whether called a slave or a freeman, the power of life and death.

"Poor men may indeed become rich, but not by the simple wages of unskilled labor. They never do become rich except by availing themselves, in some way, of the labor of others."

THE "BACK-TO-THE-LAND" SOLUTION.

Brownson continues: "To remedy these evils, I proposed to abolish the destruction between capitalists and laborers, by having every man an owner of the funds as well as the labor on a capital of his own, and to receive according to his works. Undoubtedly,

my plan would have broken up the whole modern commercial system, prostrated all the great industries and thrown the mass of the people back on the land to get their living by agriculture and mechanical pursuits. I know this well enough, but this was one of the results I aimed at. It was therefore I opposed the whole banking and credit system, and struggled hard to separate the fiscal concerns of the government from the moneyed interests of the country, and to abolish paper currency. I wished to check commerce, to destroy speculation, and for the factory system, which were enacting tariffs to protect and build up, to restore the old home industry." ....

THE COMMUNIST "LAYING HOLD OF" PROPERTY SOLUTION.

Of a different type of writer was Thomas Skidmore. Skidmore was a communist and as such a factor in the New York labor movement of the 20's and 30's. He wrote a book entitled, "The Rights of Man to Property." In this book he argued that men should be compelled to live on their own labor and not the labor of others. The inequalities of private property are born of the fact that some men live on the labor of others, a fact which these inequalities tend to perpetuate in turn. Applying his doctrine to the property conditions created by the progress of capitalism, Skidmore declared:

"The steam engine is not injurious to the poor, when they can have the benefit of it; and this, on supposition, being always the case, it could be hailed as a blessing. If, then, it is seen that the steam engine, for example, is likely greatly to impoverish, or destroy the poor, what have they to do, but to lay hold of it, and make it their own? Let them appropriate also, in the same way, the cotton factories, the woolen factories, the iron foundries, the rolling mills, houses, churches, ships, goods, steamboats, fields of agriculture, etc., etc., etc., in manner as proposed in this work, and as is their right, and they will never

have occasion any more to consider that as an evil which never deserved that character; which, on the contrary, is all that is good among men, and of which we cannot, under these new circumstances, have too much."

THE TRADE UNION CO-OPERATION SYSTEM.

Thus would these two extremes meet, in a practical way, the demand for the abolition of the wages system, the one by going backward, the other forward. The labor unions hinted at abolition through their own organizations, generally in the form of co-operation. The "Address to the Journeymen Printers of the United States," already quoted, says, for instance:

"Combination merely to fix and sustain a scale of prices is of minor importance, compared to that combination which looks to the ultimate redemption of labor. Scale of prices, to keep up the value of labor, are only necessary under a system which, in its uninterrupted operation, gives to that value a continued downward tendency. But when labor determines no longer to sell itself to speculators, but to become its own employer; to own and enjoy itself and the fruits thereof, the necessity for scales of prices will have passed away, and labor will forever be rescued from the control of capital. . . . This is certainly a consummation most devoutly to be wished, and however difficult it may be to attain, if within the range of possibility, ought to constitute the great end to which all our aims and efforts should be made subsidiary."

In all of the foregoing sections, we get a general idea of the beginnings of the class struggle, the early development of unions, and the demand for the abolition of the wages system, both in theory and in fact.

BEGINNINGS OF INDUSTRIAL UNION TENDENCIES.

The decades that followed those of 1820-1850 were decades that embraced the civil war, in which

workmen ardently fought in behalf of the Union, many of them conscious of the fact that the end of chattel slavery made the abolition of wages slavery easier. Following the civil war, a great corporation and trust development arose. This was the period of great panics, like that of 1873, and great labor outbreaks like that of the railroad strikes of 1877. Class-consciousness among the workers grew. Where, in the early 30's, the communism of Robert Owen had made a great impression on American labor, and in the 40's that of Fourier had considerable sway, now the international socialism of Karl Marx began to make itself felt, through the International Workmen's Association. The result was a growth in labor organization that was immense.

Says George E. McNeil, an authority on the labor movement, "The year 1866 witnessed a great revival of the labor movement. Isolated unions and associations came more and more to see the necessity of amalgamation. An active propaganda was aroused and new organizations were continually multiplying. From thirty to forty national and international trades unions and amalgamated societies were in existence, some of them numbering tens of thousands of men. The people of today (1887) have little conception of the extent of the labor movement of twenty years ago."

A. F. OF L. APPEARS TO COMBAT NEW TENDENCIES.

This new impetus to labor organization gave rise to a desire for ever closer unity, accelerated by a recognition of the fact that craft unions were not strong enough when standing alone. Industrial congresses were thus held, beginning in 1874. Many craft organizations were represented. Out of such tendencies arose the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, in 1881. It was inspired by the International Typographical Union, which was

among the first of the trade unions to recognize the need of mutual assistance and closer relations. The Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions was also rendered necessary by the continued growth and success of the Knights of Labor. This was an organization that attempted to organize all the trades in one body. It threatened the existence of the trade and labor unions, and thus hastened the formation of the trades and labor unions federation, now known as "The American Federation of Labor.'

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR UNION.

The new tendency expressed by the Knights of Labor had been growing for years. The International Labor Union of America, formed in 1877, was an endeavor to combine all callings under one central head. It never had a large membership, but branches were organized in seventeen states. Its declaration of principles contains many an I. W. W. germ. We read, for instance, that

"The victory over divine right rulership must be supplemented by a victory over property right rulers; for there can be no government of the people, by the people, and for the people, where the many are dependent on the few for an existence.

"Political liberty cannot long continue under economic bondage, for he who is forced to sell his labor or starve will sell his francise when the same alternative is presented.

"As the wealth of the world is distributed through the wages system, its better distribution must come through higher wages, and better opportunities, until wages shall represent the earnings and not the necessities of labor, thus melting profit upon labor out of existence, and making co-operation, or self-employed labor, the natural and logical step from wage-slavery to free labor."

THE KNIGHTS OF ST. CRISPIN.

Another organization worthy of note, as contributing to the upbuilding of Knights of Labor tendencies, was the Knights of St. Crispin. This was a body of boot and shoe workers of all trades that recognized that in the age of collective capital there must be a larger co-operation among the wage workers than the craft union is able to give. Their declaration states that, "The objects of this organization are to protect its members from injurious competition, and **secure thorough unity among all workers on boots or shoes in every section of the country.**" The Knights of St. Crispin were what is known today as "a single industry" industrial union, being confined to one industry and organizing on the principles of industrial instead of craft unionism.

They favored "co-operation as a proper and efficient remedy for many of the evils of the present iniquitous system that concedes to the laborer only so much of his production as shall make comfortable living a bare possibility, and place education and social position beyond his reach."

The Knights of St. Crispin were a political power. They had a monthly journal, started co-operative stores, fought many successful strikes, became international in scope, and, it is estimated, had four hundred lodges and forty thousand members at once time and were considered one of the foremost organizations in the world. Their downfall is attributed to "too much politics" and to a failure to appreciate evolution outside of their organization, especially the admission of apprentices and others into the boot and shoe industry. The Knights of St. Crispin existed about ten years, from 1864 to 1874, and were largely absorbed by the Knights of Labor. This was also the fate of the International Labor Union before it.

THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR.

The Knights of Labor were organized in Philadelphia, in 1869. Some garment workers, headed by

Uuriah S. Stephens, were the founders. The Knights of Labor recognized the submission of labor to capistal, and attributed it to the disunity of labor and the lack of harmonious action which this disunity promoted. It sought to unite every granch of skilled and unskilled labor, by means of local assemblies, district assemblies and general assemblies, all presided over by a master workman. Its underlying principle was centralization; what it lacked was organization according to industry. It was more of a mass organization than an organization along well defined industrial lines.

REASONS K. OF L. FAILED—A. F. OF L. SCABBERY.

The Knights of Labor also advocated co-operation "as a means of superceding the wages system," and favored public ownership of telephones, telegraphs and railroads to the same ends. It was the climax of after-civil war period efforts toward a more highly developed form of organization than any in existence previous to its advent. It is said to have numbered over a million members. Its death may be attributed to abnormal growth, which was greater than could be even chartered, much less assimilated; to politics; to its lack of definite forms of organization; to centralization, and its corrupt misuses and abuses; but, moreover, to the American Federation of Labor, which, in alliance withe capitalists, who feared the socialistic working class tendencies of the Knights of Labor, scabbed the Knights of Labor out of existence. The brewing, cigar-making, railroading, coalmining and other industries are full of the history of A. F. of L. scabbery against the Knights of Labor. This scabbery, logically, developed in the A. F. of L. until, in alliance with the National Civic Federation, the A. F. of L. was called by the Wall Street Journal, "the greatest bulwark in this country against socialism."

BUILDING THE NEW SOCIETY WITHIN THE SHELL OF THE OLD.

Labor is trying to break through the bounds of capitalism into a free society, just as capitalism, at its earliest inceptions, tried to break through the bounds of the guild system in its efforts at self-realization. And labor is going to succeed just as capitalism succeeded. The forces behind social development will compel such success. This is evident on all sides. It is mostly evident in the events of the early labor movements and their steady upward development.

Early labor movements demanded the abolition of the wages system. They hinted at the end of this system through their own agencies, mainly through co-operation. In the 80's of the last century we find the labor organizations favoring government ownership and political action to that end. And, more important still, we find them engaging in a campaign that will prepare them to take over the operation and control of the means of production and distribution. This tendency was what distinguished the radical from the conservative unions; this, together with the desire for greater working class unity and organization.

THE KINDERGARTEN IDEA.

In 1886 the Metal Workers of America, a federative body, in its declaration of principles argues: "The entire abolition of the present system of society can alone emancipate the workers, being replaced by a new system based upon co-operative organization of production and in a free society. Our organization should be a school to educate its members for the new conditions of society when the workers will regulate their own affairs."

We find the same idea of the union as the kindergarten of the new society expressed in the writings of the German State Socialists, notably Dr. Johann

Jacoby. In his "Object of the Labor Movement," a speech delivered in 1870, the doctor spoke highly of the labor unions. Said he:

> The true significance of these associations, their value, which cannot be overestimated, lies in this, that, wholly apart from the special object at which they aim, they are a school for self-culture for their members; that they confer upon them skill in the independent management of their own affairs and in harmonious action with others for common ends; that, by education, promotion of a comprehension of business and fraternal, public spirit, they prepare the worker for a gradual transition from the prevailing Wage System to the co-operative method of production of the future.

THE LABOR UNIONS AS THE BASIS OF NEW SOCIETY.

Another idea, quite distinct from the above, also developed. This idea regards the labor unions as the organs by which the new society will be ushered in. The first exponent of this idea seems to have been Robert Owen, the Englishman, who spent some years in this country in the twenties of the last century, and whose influence on the labor movement here has been great indeed. Owen advocated in the thirties and forties of the same century a general federation of the workers' unions which would take over and operate all the national industries of England. This idea permeated the world labor movements. In 1868 it appeared in the Belgian labor movement, at the Lausane congress. Lucian Sanial, in his "Socialism in Belgium (Socialist Almanac, page 67), writes of this congress and its able Marxian leader, De Paepe, as follows:

> It may even be doubted whether De Paepe himself did not still entertain the notion, then quite prevalent among workingmen and subsequently exploited by the anarchists, that the trade union form of labor organization would serve as the basis of the social reorganization of labor.

Possibly, Russia proves "the notion" attacked by Sanial of more importance than he believed it to be.

However, this is a digression. Let us listen next to Wm. E. Trautman, editor of the Brewers' Journal. Writing on "The United Brewery Workers and Industrial Organization" in the special Labor Day issue of the American Labor Union Journal in September, 1903, Trautman declares:

> Socialists abroad, as well as here, perceive that the instruments for the management of the Socialist republic, now in process of formation, must be created, and they build the labor organization according to this need. Who can judge how to regulate the required production of utilities in the various lines of industry in conformity with the necessities of the entire society better than those who are directly employed in a given industry?
>
> Industrial organizations are the forerunners of the society founded on Socialist foundations, and within them are the elements preparing for a more scientific management of the implements of production and distribution.

Thus does labor try to break through capitalism, by means of clearer theoretical understanding and improved industrial organization. Thus does it try to "build the new society in the shell of the old."

THE PERSISTENT, PROPHETIC I. W. W.

The Industrial Workers of the World, organized in Chicago, Ill., in 1905, has its forerunners—in the development of modern industry and labor organization, combined with the workers' desire for emancipation from wage slavery. Following the Knights of Labor, there came Debs' American Railway Union, the Western Federation of Miners, the American Labor Union, and the Brotherhood of Railroad Employees, to contribute to its evolution on the industrial side, while the socialist parties gave much material toward its intellectual phase.

The I. W. W. differs from the Knights of Labor in its more definite industrial forms and principles and from the American Labor Union, which was merely an extension and buttress of the Western Federation of Miners, in its greater scope and more independent

existence. The I. W. W. differs from the American Railway Union, the Western Federation of Miners and the Brotherhood of Railway Employes in that they were "single industry" industrial unions, while the I. W. W. is a single union of all the industries, combining all the industries in One Big Union.

The fact that the Industrial Workers of the World has had many forerunners should not discourage any one from joining it, or furthering its cause. What is more important is the constant reappearance of this type of union. It must be necessary—labor cannot get along without it—or else why does Labor create such a union so often, despite previous failures? Further, developments at home and abroad demonstrate that society needs such a constructive type of unionism in order to escape reaction and disaster.

The I. W. W., to digress a little, has proved prophetic. When asked by Commissioner Garrettson of the Railway Conductors' Brotherhood, to tell the Industrial Relations Commission in 1914 how the I. W. W. intended to manage industry, William D. Haywood replied:

> Take your own executive board; who can run the railroads any better than they?

The Plumb plan, with its part management of the railroads by the railroad workers, would indicate that even the conservative railroad brotherhoods have come around to the I. W. W. idea of workers' control of industry through industrial organization.

How can we conclude this essay better than by quoting a speech delivered in Philadelphia, during the 80's of the last century, by that good friend of labor, the eminent journalist, John Swinton. Swinton, addressing a body, whom he refers to as one of "these great conferences of world-builders in the chief cities of the country," said:

THE LABOR TRIOLOGY.

"I close by presenting three plain ideas:

"Firstly, I warn you that in these times the workers

are preparing to take a hand in the government of the world—to take hold of the administration of its resources, its business and its politics. The kings, lords, generalissimos, schemers and financiers, who have seized our earth, are incompetent to manage its affairs. They have had their way age after age, generation after generation, and the shipwreck of mankind is the result. But now the day of judgment for them is at hand. Man takes the field to harvest his rights. The old dispensation passeth; a new era glimmers along the sky.

"Secondly, I warn you of the growth of unity of action among the world's workers, here and in all countries. From state to state, from land to land, they are signalling to each other; through all forms of government they are learning to co-operate; amid all varieties of speech they find the universal language. This is a new thing and a great thing, from which will grow other great and new things.

"Thirdly and lastly, I warn you of the nature of the demands of the world's workers. They are essentially the same throughout this country, and in all other countries. There is unity of program as well as of action. They must have full scope for their proper power in the community; they must have their allotment of the resources and the heritage of the earth.

"These terms are natural, reasonable and righteous, and the fact that they are everywhere made and everywhere increasing in strength is the assurance that, whatever they may have to encounter, they will yet be secured."

III.—THE HISTORY OF THE I. W. W.

The history of the I. W. W. began in 1905. The concluding volume still remains to be written. The I. W. W. was at first a derided weakling. Gompers sneered at its "wheel of fortune," i. e., plan of organization. Now both Gompers and capitalism fear the I. W. W. as all living things fear death.

The I. W. W. is a prophecy—a preparation—partly fulfilled in the Russian revolution, and tending further, in the Plumb plan, to be fulfilled in this country. As Arturo Giovannitti well says: "The I. W. W. is the only socialism of all the socialisms that has succeeded. It alone has come out of the war vindicated and stronger than ever before."

The reason for the impregnable position of the I. W. W. is to be found in the fact that the I. W. W. is born of real capitalism and is inseperable from it. It is the only form of labor organization that conforms to the organization of capitalism and that will carry the latter on to higher planes when it either collapses or is sloughed off in the process of further growth and development.

The application of the constructive principles of the I. W. W. saved Russia after the Kerensky revolution. In this country, they are proposed in part as a solution of the railroad problem. In labor organization, I. W. W. principles are overturning A. F. of L. principles On all sides, the I. W. W. presses to the front. It is the only solution that can logically be applied to capitalism and its problems. Therein lies the explanation of the I. W. W.'s phoenix-like existence—its constant revival in the face of apparent destruction.

THE SIX FOUNDERS OF THE I. W. W.

In the fall of 1904, six workingmen dissatisfied with the A. F. of L. met and decided that a better form of unionism was necessary and should be organized. They were Isaac Cowen, American representative of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers of Great Britain; Clarence Smith, general Secretary-Treasurer, American Labor Union; Thomas J. Haggerty, editor "Voice of Labor," organ of the A. L. U.; George Estes, President United Brotherhood of Railway Employees; W. L. Hall, General Secretary-Treasurer U. B. R. E.; and William E. Trautman,

editor "Brauer Zeitung," United Brewery Workers' organ.

These six men called a conference that came together in Chicago, Ill., on Jan. 2, 1905, and drew up the Industrial Union manifesto calling for a convention to be held in Chicago, Ill., on June 27, 1905. It was at this convention that The Industrial Workers of the World, better known by its initial letters, "The I. W. W.," was launched.

The conference was composed of forty men, active in the radical and socialist movements of that time. The Western Federation of Miners pushed the circulation of their manifesto and did much to make the convention successful. One Hundred and eighty-six delegates attended the convention from thirty-six state, district, national and local organizations with a membership of 90,000. William D. Haywood, General Secretary-Treasurer of the Western Federation of Miners, was its permanent chairman.

The organizations installed as part of the I. W. W. were the Western Federation of Miners, Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, Punch Press Operators, United Metal Workers, Longshoremen's Union, American Labor Union and the Brotherhood of Railway Employees. Fifty-one thousand was the stated membership of these combined organizations, 21,000 of which was almost wholly on paper. Subsequently, one of its real mainstays, the B. R. E., died, while the W. F. M. deserted it.

FRAIL BEGINNING AND PRESENT MEMBERSHIP I. W. W.

On a frail, unsubstantial basis, such as inflated membership and dying, unreliable organizations, was the I. W. W. launched. It has since enrolled approximately 500,000 members. These have come into and gone out of it, only to spread and apply the doctrines of the I. W. W. all over the world. Many of the foremost Russian reconstructionists, like Shatoff,

Nelson, Tobinson, etc., are I. W. W.'s. I. W. W. job delegates and proselytes are not unknown even in Japan and China. The A. F. of L. is infused with I. W. W.'ism. This, the recent New York dockmen's strike and United Mine Workers' convention demonstrate. The Socialist and Communist parties are either influenced by its policies or openly support it. The I. W. W. menaces capitalism wherever capitalism menaces civilization. This is one of the many reasons for its virility.

I. W. W. IN FOREFRONT OF LABOR'S DEFENSE.

The I. W. W. has engaged in many a campaign for labor since its founding. It took the initiative in the successful movement to save the lives of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone from judicial murder. The McNamara, Mooney, and other workers' defenses are supported by the I. W. W. The Bolsheviki were first recognized in this country by the I. W. W. This is especially true of The Industrial Worker, which printed interviews with the mate of the Shilka, a Russian ship that arrived in Seattle shortly after the November, 1917, revolution. The I. W. W. is instinctively proletarian. For this reason capitalists attack it and workmen rally to it.

HOTLY CONTESTED I. W. W. STRIKES

The I. W. W. has also waged many hotly contested strikes since its founding. In 1906, it established the eight-hour day for hotel and restaurant workers in Goldfield, Nevada. A strike of sheet metal workers in Youngstown, Ohio, in the same year, was lost, owing to A. F. of L. scabbing. In 1907, 3,000 textile workers in Skowhegan, Maine, won improved conditions after a four weeks' struggle and despite strike-breakers furnished by the A. F. of L. In Portland, Oregon, 3,000 saw mill workers struck for the nine-hour day and a wage increase from $1.75 to $2.50

a day. The strike and its aftermath forced a raise in wages and also improvement in conditions. It also gave impetus to I. W. W. organization in northwestern U. S. A. A strike of 1,200 metal mill workers in Bridgeport, Conn., was lost through A. F. of L. scabbing. The panic of 1907 caused shut-downs that killed the strike of 800 silk workers of Lancaster, Pa. A prolonged strike at Goldfield, Nevada, was comprised by the treachery of the general officials of the Western Federation of Miners in the spring of 1907. In the fall, however, the I. W. W. gained ground, and under its sway the $4.50 day and eight-hour day became universal. During the I. W. W. regime in Goldfield, all the local laws were made in the union hall and posted on the bulletin boards of the union.

The panic of 1907, with its shut-downs and unemployment, hit labor unions hard. Especially was the less firmly established I. W. W. affected. The I. W. W., however, participated in many unemployment agitations and movements during this period.

THE McKEES ROCKS STRIKE.

The McKees Rocks, Pa., strike of 8,000 workers employed by the Pressed Steel Car Co., beginning July, 1909, brought the I. W. W. again to the fore. Frank Morrison, Secretary of the A. F. of L., came to look at the revolters—for such they were originally—and went away saying, "They are only Hunkies." Political socialists, among them Debs, made speeches to them, saying, "Vote the Socialist ticket." But the I. W. W. organized them. It formed the sixteen different nationalities and all branches of labor into one compact body that was triumphant. Advanced wages and improved conditions were conceded in the face of the worst opposition imaginable. The Pennsylvania cossacks were given to understand that for every striker killed by them a cossack would be killed in retaliation. The actual application of this warning stopped all killings.

THE FREE SPEECH FIGHTS.

Following the McKees Rocks strike came the heroic free speech fights at Spokane, Wash., and Fresno, California, and, later, in other cities. These fights were deemed necessary to organization. It was thought that without street meetings, such as these cities sought to prohibit, the jobless, homeless, migratory workers could not be organized. The I. W. W. has progressed since. Now job delegates, job organization and hall meetings, instead of street meetings, are the real tactics. The free speech fights were won by crowding jails, piling up expenses to the taxpayers, and otherwise making it cheaper for them to surrender than to continue the struggle.

THE SCHWAB'S BETHLEHEM STRIKE.

About 1910 came a big strike in Schwab's Bethlehem Steel Works in Pennsylvania. Thanks to its McKees Rocks prestige, the I. W. W. was enabled to organize this revolt of 10,000 workers, for such it was. The I. W. W. was proceeding finely when the A. F. of L. came along and claimed jurisdiction. Rather than cause friction, the I. W. W. withdrew. The A. F. of L. then divided the strikers into some fifteen different international unions. Some of them got agreements, but the strikers, on the whole, got nothing but defeat. This was as the I. W. W. had anticipated and predicted. It is the usual A. F. of L. outcome.

The shoe workers' strike in Brooklyn, N. Y.: textile and shoe workers' strikes in Haverhill, Mass.: clothing workers' strike in Seattle, Wash.; railroad workers in Prince Rupert and Lytton, B. C.: lumberworkers in the northwest and at Grabow, La., were next entered into and either won in part or in whole, or else led to many indirect gains.

THE LAWRENCE AND MESABA RANGE STRIKES

Then came the Lowell textile strike. This was followed by the great Lawrence textile strike of

1912. This strike was an epoch-maker—a turning point—in the whole labor movement of the country. It gave practical demonstration of industrial unionism on a large scale. It transformed strike tactics and won big gains for the textile strikers, besides influencing textile wages upward in many sections of the country. On top of the great Lawrence strike came the textile strike at Little Falls, N. Y.; the silk strike at Paterson, N. J.; the Akron rubber strike, the Wheatland hop pickers' strike, and the Mesaba range iron ore miners' strike.

WAR STRIKES AND PERSECUTIONS.

Finally, just before and at the beginning of the war, the I. W. W. conducted big strike movements among the agricultural workers, oil workers, copper miners and lumber workers. The success that attended these movements is believed to have inspired the agricultural, copper, oil and lumber trust interests to foment the attacks on the I. W. W. made during the war. These attacks resulted in the lynching of Frank Little, the deportation of 1,200 miners from Bisbee, Arizona, the tarring and feathering of seventeen oil workers at Tulsa, Oklahoma, and the prosecution of the I. W. W. in Chicago, Sacramento, Wichita and elsewhere. Over 200 members, including all the officers of the organization, were convicted under the infamous anti-labor espionage law. These men were given sentences of from one to twenty years in prison. These attacks resulted in a thousand and one lesser infamies against the I. W. W. all over the country. This campaign against the I. W. W. was based on the slogan, "The I. W. W. is receiving German gold to call strikes." This slogan was not proved in the Chicago or any other trial. The I. W. W. is not pro-German, but anti-capitalist. Hence, the attacks on it.

GREAT VALUE OF I. W. W. ACTIVITIES.

Taking it all in all, the activities of the I. W. W. have been out of all proportion to either its membership or its means. They have been of great value to the working class in their results. The Lawrence strike alone put from five to fifteen millions more wages annually into the pay envelopes of textile workers throughout the country. Subsequently, its memories halted threats of wage reduction at Providence, R. I., and New Bedford, Mass. The Wheatland strikes brought about improved conditions and more wages for the ranch workers throughout California. So with other strikes. The agricultural workers now work ten hours a day at $4.00 per day pay; get good sleeping quarters and food, where formerly they had to sleep any old place, eat bad grub and work from sun to sun for about $1.50. The lumber workers have secured shower baths, sanitary conveniences, good bunkhouses and beds, improved food, the eight-hour day and $5 a day pay, where formerly they led the lives of beasts in filthy camps and were worked long, intolerable hours at low wages. During the war period, the fear of the I. W. W., aided by the demand for labor, caused wages to be increased frequently throughout New England, in the silk mills of Paterson, N. J., and elsewhere.

I. W. W. INFLUENCE ON LABOR ORGANIZATION.

In addition, the pressure that the I. W. W. exerts on other labor organizations is great. They fear the invasion of their field by the I. W. W., or they are stimulated into action by I. W. W. criticism and initiative, with good results. This is evident in the textile industry of New England, and the silk industry of Paterson, N. J. Why, even Gompers himself tried to beat Gary by using the I. W. W. as a club against him, as he has done against other capitalists.

Talk about "boring from within," a "permeative syndicalism," why, the I. W. W. gets results in the A. F. of L. that they could never hope for! No wonder that Gompers and capitalism fear the I. W. W.! It is a real power for working class good!

I. W. W. AND "INDUSTRIAL DECOMRACY" SHOP.

The I. W. W. has also compelled the recognition and adoption of its principles by the leading corporations. They have created what is known as "the industrial democracy" shop, for the purpose of stemming the tide of I. W. W.'ism. These shops are based on a system of industrial government in which labor has representation. They were unknown before the advent of the I. W. W. They are failures, however, because they are neither honestly conceived nor intended. The "industrial democracy" that they practice only strengthens the capitalist autocracy which it is supposed to overthrow. Wherever tried, "the industrial democracy" of corporations has been the cause of strikes and an intensification of the class struggle. This speaks well for the intelligence of the workers, who know the real thing when they see it. It also speaks badly for the alleged shrewdness of the capitalists, who hope to save themselves, by such stupidity, from the real industrial democracy of the I. W. W.

I. W. W. AND LIBERALISM.

The I. W. W. has been able to achieve this power for working class good, and to exert this influence on corporation development, sometimes by favorable conditions, but more often by the reactionary methods of capitalism itself. Capitalism is brutal in its labor attitude. It is unprogressive generally. It blocks the path of progress, bidding the race stand still. All the liberal, socialist, radical and progressive elements, accordingly, unite in assailing it, either in part or as a whole. These elements often rally to the I. W. W. To them, the I. W. W. is the proletarian forerunner of the new society, the militant protestant against capitalist reaction. Thanks to their frequent assistance, the I. W. W. is often triumphant.

I. W. W. PRESS AND EDUCATION.

I. W. W. progress is also due to the I. W. W. press. This press now publishes three English weeklies, one English monthly magazine, and seventeen foreign language papers. Leaflets, handbills, bulletins, pamphlets have also been printed by the millions. As an educational factor alone, the I. W. W. is great. This part of its activities are largely under-rated by its members and the working class generally; though recognized by its opponents, who jail its editors, confiscate its literature, raid and nail up its publishing places. Education, organization, emancipation, are the guiding stars in the I. W. W. firmament that aid in directing working class activities, and creating I. W. W. power.

I. W. W. HISTORY MORE THAN A RECORD.

The history of the I. W. W. is something more than a record of the achievements of a labor organization. It is the history of capitalist degeneracy—of a social revolution giving rise to a new society, whose structure the I. W. W. endeavors to prepare in accordance with evolution and in advance of capitalism's final collapse, which appears not very far off.

I. W. W. AND DIRECT ACTION

It is for these reasons that the I. W. W. is viciously misrepresented and attacked. For instance, direct action, a basic doctrine of the I. W. W., is misinterpreted as violence, dynamiting and lawlessness in general. Nothing is further from the truth, for if direct action is lawlessness, then so also is the democratic theory of American government lawlessness, for they are both essentially the same. Direct action means industrial action directly by, for, and of the workers themselves, without the treacherous aid of labor misleaders or scheming politicians. A strike that is initiated, controlled and settled by the workers directly affected, is direct action. Industrial action

for political purposes, such as a general strike to enforce labor laws, promote laws favorable to labor, veto unjust laws, secure the release of labor and political prisoners, and the industries for the workers, is direct action. The control of industry directly by the workers themselves is direct action. Direct action is combined action, directly on the job, to secure better job conditions. Direct action is industrial democracy.

Direct action is action on the job by the workers directly concerned. It is action without recourse to or betrayal by either leaders or politicians. The seventeen trades that secured the forty-four-hour week, not by legislative enactment, but by strikes, or the threat of strikes, used direct action. The I. W. W. lumberjacks who walked off the job after working eight hours, until they thus secured the eigh-hour day, used direct action.

The control of industry by the workers themselves, and the use of such control to promote the welfare and secure the emancipation of labor, is direct action. Direct action means peaceful action —strikes, passive resistance, slowing down, etc.— directly at the base of capitalist control and exploitation, namely, the industrial, or economic base, by the workers themselves, for the benefit of themselves and society as a whole. Direct action is, in its ultimate use, social action, i. e., action for the welfare of society, as against the wars and uncivilization of capitalism.

This applies to all I. W. W. doctrines. They are interpreted, not according to I. W. W. use, but the capitalist misuse, of them. The reason is evident!

I. W. W. AND VIOLENCE.

The I. W. W. is charged with violence. The violence that the I. W. W. commits is the violence of passive resistance. It is the violence of removing hands from the machinery of production and stopping the employer's profits. There can be no greater

violence against capitalism than the stopping of profits and dividends by a peaceful stoppage of labor.

As William D. Haywood very eloquently said, when discussing "the violence of the Lawrence strike," in Cooper Union, New York, May 21, 1912:

"They (the strikers) committed no violence except that of removing their hands: big hands, delicate hands, baby hands, some of them gnarled and torn and crippled. But they removed those hands from the machinery. And when they took those hands away from the machinery the machinery was dead.

"And that was the 'violence' of the Lawrence strike. And there is nothing more violent in the eyes of the capitalist class than to deprive them of the labor power out of which they get all their capital. There is nothing that will make the capitalist class so mad, that will make them froth at the mouth, so quickly as to see a working man with his hands in his pockets, or a working woman with her arms folded, or the little children playing with their dolls or their tops or their marbles. If they belong to the working army, they want all those hands busy. Not to see them busy means that the golden stream has ceased to run into their coffers; that is what makes the capitalist class crazy. It is this that has driven them mad."

CAPITALIST PROFITS AND VIOLENCE.

P. I. Dunning, English economist, says of capitalist profits:

> With adequate profit, capital is very bold. A certain ten per cent will insure its employment anywhere; 20 per cent will produce eagerness; 50 per cent positive audacity; 100 per cent will make it ready to trample on all human laws; 300 per cent, and there is not a crime at which it will scruple, nor a risk it will not run, even to a chance of its owner being hanged.

The war, with its immense sacrifice of humanity, and its stupendous increase in profits for capitalists,

proves Dunning did not exaggerate. Yet it is capital, "capital, that comes into the world," in the language of Marx, "dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt," it is this capital that charges the I. W. W. with violence! O, what a satire on truth and the credulity of mankind!

I. W. W. HISTORY ONE OF CHANGE.

In addition to being a history of misrepresentation by its capitalist opponents, the history of the I. W. W. is a history of change, of tendencies, of adaptability to conditions and requirements. This often gives the impression that the I. W. W. is chaotic, anarchistic, when it is only evolutionary.

The I. W. W. began in 1905 as an attempt to consolidate existing unions in an industrial unionism to embrace them all. The attempt failed. It was a case, once more, of putting new wine in old bottles. It got the I. W. W. nowhere, except to a state of decline.

It was only when the I. W. W. organized new elements in the industrial world that it got a firm foundation and grew. The unskilled, migratory workers enabled the I. W. W. to cut away from old forms of unionism and try the experiment in industrial union forms that is not ended as yet, but which has been of inestimable value to the working class, as already indicated above.

THE I. W. W. AND POLITICS.

Likewise, the I. W. W. began as an attempt to fuse the leading socialist economic and political tendencies of the country. This attempt failed, too. This failure was due to the same reasons that underlie the failure of the anti-trust movement, namely: the impossible submission of basic economic forces to superficial political regulation and control.

The two socialist parties made the I. W. W. a battleground for their own supremacy. The I. W. W.,

as a matter of self-preservation, had to get rid, first of one, then of the other. Increased growth and economic results showed the wisdom of replacing theoretical dogma and supremacy with real working class organization.

TREACHERY OF POLITICAL SOCIALISM.

The treachery displayed by the socialist political movement against the working class economic movement was also a cause of I. W. W. transformation in political philosophy. The Swedish general strike, which was betrayed by the social democrats in office in order that they might uphold their own political prestige, was a case in point. The official acts of Millerand and Briand in France are also noteworthy as contributing to political change in the I. W. W. The constant deriding of the general strike as an anti-war measure, on the part of the German social democrats, helped along the tendency still more. So also did the practical, if not theoretical, preference of the United States socialist party for Gompersism and craft unionism, as expressed in the ousting of Haywood, and anti-sabotage attacks, both of which cost the socialist party a loss of 50,000 members; and both of which Hillquit, in his St. Louis convention speech, substantially admitted had been very harmful to the socialist party of this country. As for the socialist labor party, it transformed itself into a scab detective agency of the capitalist class in its zeal to crush the nonsocialist labor party I. W. W. After all this, do you blame the I. W. W. for wanting none of the socialist movements as an integral part of itself? Let the socialist movements of the world prove their proletarian character by their acts, and they will have no greater friend than the I. W. W., which is only too anxious to unite with workers everywhere.

GROWING ASCENDANCY OF INDUSTRY.

But there are other and more vital reasons for the I. W. W. abandonment of conventional politics than

the attempted control of the I. W. W. by socialist parties or the treachery of political socialism generally. The increasing use of industrial action to effect political results faborable to labor, as in the case of the English triple alliance, is one of them. Such cases show industrial action to be more effective politically than parliamentarianism. Other reasons are to be found in the growing ascendancy of industry over politics, especially during the war. The war was essentially industrial in origin and was prosecuted by means that, in their last analysis, were essentially industrial in character. Further, the war evolved industrial forms of administration that were fore-shadowed many years before in the theories and speculations of the I. W. W. regarding forms of government in the future society.

Years before the war began the I. W. W. visionary foresaw the time coming when congresses on political lines would be replaced by congresses on industrial lines. To a great extent this has already arrived, as witness the war boards of England and the United States and the extra-political round table conferences in this country since the war, not to mention Soviet Russia, with its representation based on factory, shop and union lines. These tendencies will continue more in the future than in the past, unless all signs fail.

It is owing to these salient facts, combined with the terribly tragic fiasco of political socialism in Germany, with its pro-Kaiserliche "general strike is general nonsense" and its pro-capitalistic anti-industrial sovietism—it is owing to all these facts combined that the I. W. W. has evolved still further from political confusion to a mental clearness that recognizes, with Karl Marx, that the class that controls the means of production and distribution of society at any given time controls society at that time, politically and otherwise.

POLITICS INHERENT IN INDUSTRY.

The combined treachery and failure of political socialism, together with the rise of industry as the

real political force, has caused the I. W. W. to look within industry itself and the industrial organization of the workers therein for the working class politics of the future. The war has made this task the only political task of the working class. And, in so doing, it has vindicated the I. W. W. politically and enabled it to come out of the war stronger than ever before, while leaving political socialism weak indeed.

The great union movements at home and abroad since the war—notably the decision of the 1919 English Trade Congress in favor of industrial action and against parliamentarianism as a political factor, combined with the furtherance of the Plumb plan by the American railroad workers—proves the I. W. W. poltically profound and triumphant indeed!

PRACTICAL INFLUENCES OF I. W. W.

The I. W. W. is not anti-political. Nor is it non-political. It is ultra-political. Its industrial activities have affected the political institutions of the country in a manner favorable to labor. George West, the well-known journalist and publicist, is authority for the statement that the I. W. W. Lawrence strike of 1912 precipitated the formulation of the labor measures of the Progressive party. There is no doubt that progressives and liberals in general have been influenced by I. W. W. activities, in trying to ameliorate labor conditions by legislation, and so are state and federal administrations. Following the Wheatland strike, the housing commission of California used its authority to clean up labor conditions on all the ranches in the state. In the early war period, thanks to the I. W. W. lumber workers' strike, the governor of Washington and Carlton Parker of the Federal Board, recommended the eight-hour day for the lumber industry. In many states the A. F. of L. uses the I. W. W. bugaboo to secure enactments from legislatures just as it secures concessions by the same means from employers. Without doubt, the I. W. W. is ultra-political.

It goes without saying that, as an ultra-political factor, the I. W. W. exerts an influence on political parties. In the 1912 Lawrence strike it destroyed the Democratic presidential aspirations of Governor Foss by pillorying his misuse of the militia. That same strike caused a revolution in the Socialist party, that led to the ousting of Haywood, the anti-sabotage attacks, the loss of 50,000 members, and the regrets expressed by Hillquit in his St. Louis convention speech.

I. W. W. HISTORY REPEATING ITSELF.

At the present time, history is repeating itself once more. Even John S. Spargo, in September McClure's Magazine, calls for the abolition of I. W. W.'ism by the abolition of its causes in capitalism. Others, more openly capitalist and less professedly socialist, are making practically the same argument, viz., kill the I. W. W. by removing the conditions that create it.

Further, college professors, historians, book reviewers and space writers are beginning to discover that the I. W. W. is the forerunner of Bolshevism, the British Labor Party program and the Plumb plan, that must be reckoned with by improving labor conditions, giving labor a voice in industry and removing the discontent on which all these movements thrive. In other words, political liberalism is once more influenced by the I. W. W.

I. W. W. AND REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Political parties also reveal their knowledge of the existence of the I. W. W. as before. The Socialist party is more friendly. It gave much aid to the I. W. W. during the war hysteria which resulted in the persecution of all the progressive elements. It now endorses industrial unionism in general, while its rivals, the Communist Labor party and the Communist party, endorse the I. W. W., specifically and unreservedly. Even Socialist Labor party members are

questioning the political soundness and tactics of their own party and are leaving it to join the I. W. W. In the United States Senate, Senators Walsh, Ashhurst, King, Poindexter, Borah and others spend hours discussing the I. W. W. Chairman Hays of the Republican National Committee, according to the Boston Globe, in a Massachusetts speech on Aug. 27, said: "The Republicans will, after the next election, take charge of the problems now confronting the country and solve them. Labor will have full voice in the councils of the nation, commensurate with its loyalty and dignity. As for the I. W. W., it is a traitor, and there is only one remedy for a traitor. It is to take him and stand him up against a wall."

That will not be necessary if, as Chairman Hays says, the Republicans will solve the problems now confronting the nation. These problems, however, have a way of taking charge of those who think, like Chairman Hays, that they are taking charge of them. The result is the making of more I. W. W.'s. Even now. the process is going on under Chairman Hays' own eyes. Yet all that he can see is a stone wall for those who see better than he.

CHANGED I. W. W. OF FORMER DAYS.

But this is a digression. Let us return to our philosophical consideration of I. W. W. history. When we do this we will find still other changes in the I. W. W. Take the impulsive character of the I. W. W. of early days. Compare it with the more set and determined I. W. W. of today. There is a reason.

In its early days, I. W. W. members actually gave up their very selves in behalf of the Mexican revolution against Diaz. They also engaged in bitterly contested free speech fights in western cities that cost them many lives and many days in prison. They rushed to the aid of every strike and became the persecuted of the land, for labor's sake. They were "the flying squadron of liberty" sailing forth to battle in the cause of the working class everywhere. Their

one great idea was to be of real, not theoretical service to the proletariat, and to lead the latter in the ways of more successful tactics and organization.

SHOP IS WORKERS STATE.

The early ideas of the I. W. W. have not changed. But conditions have, and with them the I. W. W., too. With the growth of the I. W. W. as a real organization, founded on unskilled, migratory labor, and with the ascendency of industry as a political and unionistic factor, the I. W. W. began to see that the worker is all-powerful on the job, and that that is the place for him to function. The job—the shop—is, in I. W. W. belief, the worker's state, the medium by and through which he will introduce reforms and the new society. Hence, the greater I. W. W. devotion to job organization in preference to all other activities.

WAR, CAPITALISM AND THE I. W. W.

Especially have the stupendous lessons of the war impressed the I. W. W., perhaps more than all other social elements. The war has given to the I. W. W., in the methods used to destroy it, a better understanding of its own organization and its own requirements. These persecutions and deportations have shown that the I. W. W. is no longer sectional, but national, aye, international, in scope. And that, consequently, it must act on a more extensive scale in its own behalf. Further, the lessons of the war itself have revealed the vast development of capitalist organization, and the necessity for a vast organization of labor to overcome its present evils and prospective breakdown. The war has sobered the I. W. W. into a realization of the tremendous work before labor, if it would save society from a reversion to savagery in behalf of progress forward to a new society.

SABOTAGE REJECTED.

The war has caused the I. W. W. rejection of doctrines which it may have preached but never practiced. One of the I. W. W.'s bitterest opponents, Rudolph Katz, heaped well-deserved ridicule on the I. W. W. when he said: "The I. W. W. preaches sabotage, but does not practice it. The A. F. of L. practices sabotage, but does not preach it." (This latter reference is to the dynamiting activities of the structural iron workers under the leadership of the McNamaras.) The war created conditions that caused the I. W. W. to discard this doctrine as unnecessary to progress; in fact, as useless.

CAPITALISM THE REAL SABOTEUR.

The war has disclosed the combinations of capital as the real saboteurs of modern society. It has shown these combinations failing in and delaying war work in order to secure their own plunder and profits first, as in the spruce producing scandals of the northwest. It has shown these combinations cornering the nation's food supplies, and otherwise sabotaging its resources to their own enrichment and entrenchment. It has shown the necessity for saving society from more capitalist sabotage by way of the I. W. W. plan of socialized ownership, viz., ownership by its industrially organized many instead of its few capitalist combinations. Hence, the I. W. W. rejection of sabotage, even as a doctrine to be preached, though never practiced.

CAPITALISM THE REAL VIOLENCE.

And so with violence and lawlessness—if the I. W. W. ever preached these doctrines before, which it did not, it need never do so again. It has plenty of reconstructive work cut out for it, in saving the peoples of the earth—the working classes of all the nations—from the violence and lawlessness of cap-

ititalism. The war has also brought home that lesson to the I. W. W. It has exposed capitalism, through no less a mouth than that of President Wilson in his St. Louis League of Nations speech, as the cause of war and all the absence of humanity and law attending it. To capitalism it is wrong for the I. W. W. to preach violence, while it slaughters millions, injures many millions more and destroys billions in wealth and property. To capitalism it is wrong for the I. W. W. to preach lawlessness, while it destroys every constitutional right, and makes the struggle for a world democracy in reality a triumph of world plutocracy. So let it be. The I. W. W. will no longer be charged with even preaching these doctrines, but will spend its time instead organizing the workers so as to render the capitalist practice of them impossible. Construction, not destruction, is the program that the war and its lessons forces on the I. W. W. now more than ever before. Not the critical, but "the affirmative side of the I. W. W.," as a friendly historian calls it, is now brought into evidence, as another lesson of the war and the capitalist sabotage, violence and lawlessness that accompanied it.

CO-OPERATION PRESENT I. W. W. POLICY.

Other changes may also be noted in the I. W. W. —changes away from both the centralistic and decentralistic factional quarrels of old, to a more democratic, co-operative medium between both extremes. It is now recognized that centralization is top-heavy, destructive of self-reliance and continued existence, despite persecution, on the part of the rank and file. It is also recognized that decentralization makes for isolation and weakness. It lacks cohesion and force on and over any other than local grounds and small groups. It is unfit for the giant industry of the day, with its armies of workers of all kinds, working in co-operation under a centralized capitalist head, operating in combination with

similar heads. Under such circumstances, decentralization decentralizes none but the weak working class organization, which it disrupts with its theoretical discussions. Co-operation is the cure for both decentralization and centralization. Co-operation not for the sake of theory, but for the sake of actual results. Co-operation from the bottom up, instead of coercion from the top down; co-operatin on a big industrial scale, instead of on a petty group scale. Co-operation between job delegates, shops, branches, industrial unions, the One Big Union administration and the workers' organizations the world over. This is the I. W. W. reaction, in practice, from its own internal development, and the world developments about it—especially the development of the industrial democracy in opposition to capitalist autocracy.

WAR SUPREME I. W. W. TEST.

The war was the supreme test of the I. W. W. Under the cloak of patriotism, the I. W. W. was assailed all over the country, largely on the initiative of big lumber, mining and agricultural interests against whom strikes had been waged. The attack was nation-wide, savage and unrelenting. Lynching, murder, tar and feathers, deportations, insanity from persecution, intimidation and terrorization of I. W. W. members generally, were its outstanding features. I. W. W. members were also conscripted and sent abroad, further draining its membership and vitality. Vincent St. John, in his excellent pamphlet, "The I. W. W., Its History, Structure and Methods," sums up this period very well when he says: "But in spite of all, the I. W. W. still lives and is slowly but surely building up the organization that will strike the shackles of wage slavery from the limbs of the world's workers and make this earth a fit place for free men and women to inhabit." (page 34.)

The war not only did not destroy the I. W. W., but by causing the breakdown of Russian czardom and the inauguration of workers' ownership, manage-

ment and control via the factory committees and soviets, it gave an unprecedented impetus to I. W. W. principles and forms of industrial organization by, for and of the workers everywhere. The war, by its reaction on Russia and through Russia, on the world at large, has given the I. W. W. a greater lease of life than it ever possessed before.

IV.—I. W. W. PRINCIPLES AND FORMS.

Labor was never as much alive to its own importance as it is today. Labor is in a state of discontent and unrest. It is struggling to realize a better society as it never struggled before. Like another Prometheus, it is trying to free itself from the rock of reaction to which it is bound.

The war has brought home to labor its significance in life. President Wilson, in addressing the A. F. of L. convention, made plain that, without labor, wars cannot be won and governments survive. Kaiser Wilhelm, appealing to the Krupp workers at Essen, to stand by the Fatherland, demonstrated that without labor, **there can be no Fatherland.**

In brief, the war demonstrated that **Labor is the State. It is the foundation rock of modern society.** When that rock moves, as move the rocks of the earth in a quake, then there is an upheaval. **Systems fall; the old society is destroyed; the face of modern life is transformed.**

The conditions that have prevailed since the war have only served to drive home to the workers the lessons of the war. They have given to labor movements such a size and importance as to cause governments to tremble. In England, the Triple Alliance of Labor, composed of the miners, railroad and transportation workers' unions, rises to menace the lying government with a great strike in favor of the Russian Soviet Republic and the solution of English social problems without the use of the military against labor. In this country, President Wilson's

advocacy of the League of Nations is interrupted by Labor's demands for either more wages or reduced prices.

OBJECT OF I. W. W.

Labor, giant Labor, awakened Labor, is becoming the governing power. It has only to organize so as to make that power effective. This is the object of the I. W. W.—to give Labor a form of organization that will make it invincible.

To understand the objects of the I. W. W. one thing is necessary. That is, it must be recognized that the I. W. W. is not aiming to overthrow "constituted authority," or government. The I. W. W. aims to administer industry. Government is being overthrown by world developments. It is these developments that compel Labor, including the I. W. W., to act in a spirit of self-preservation for all society.

Nor does the I. W. W. want to destroy the family or religion, and "promote anarchy." The family and religion are destroyed and anarchy is promoted, by the conflict of economic interests—both national and international—over which the I. W. W. has no control. The I. W. W. seeks to end this conflict, to the advantage of all mankind.

In other words, always bear in mind that the I. W. W. is not an organization that aims to fit mankind into a procrustacean bed, regardless of its development and tendencies. What the I. W. W. aims to do is to be abreast, if not ahead of the actual trend of world society. The I. W. W. is itself an outgrowth of this trend.

I. W. W. ULTRA-POLITICAL.

This brings us to another mooted question, namely: Does the I. W. W. believe in and advocate politics? Absolutely! The I. W. W. is neither anti-political nor non-political. The I. W. W. is ultra-political. That is, the I. W. W. recognizes that getting votes and winning offices is not politics of a fundamental kind.

Politics is the control of government through industrial control. Politics is the control of society through control of the means of its livelihood. It is the change of politics from a territorial to an economic basis that constitutes the modern revolution, as reflected in the Russian Soviet Republic, the overshadowing supremacy of the trusts in the United States, and the growing dominance of labor organizations in governmental matters in England and the United States. "Is the I. W. W. anti-political?" Please don't ask that question again. We need our time for other work.

THE BRAIN WORKER AND THE I. W. W.

Oh, yes; we almost forgot that most palpitating of questions. Does the I. W. W. organize the brain workers? As we know of no workers who work without brains, we are compelled to answer, "yes." It would be ridiculous for the I. W. W. to go into dissecting rooms and organize only the brainless skulls that the students operate on there! The I. W. W. organizes all wage workers—all of them, no matter how employed or exploited by employers. A college professor who is exploited at a salary by an educational corporation is eligible to form, together with his fellow employes, an educational industrial union of the I. W. W. An electrical genius employed by an electrical trust at a big salary, like Steinmetz of the General Electric Company of Schenectady, N. Y., for instance, may become a member of the Electrical Workers' Industrial Union of the I. W. W., if he wants to. In short, the I. W. W. organizes all who work for wages or salary, regardless of classification, which is considered no bar to membership. Only stockholders, owners, employers—all non-wage workers are barred. **The I. W. W. is an organization of wage workers** just as they work, without trade, sex, color, religious, or any other distinctions, styles of shirts and collars included.

THE NEGRO AND THE I. W. W.

"What," we hear somebody shout (somebody from the South, with Southern prejudices, most likely), "you don't mean to say that you organize the Negro; and that you make him the equal of the white man in your I. W. W. industrial union?" That's right, Mr. Questioner. As the employer compels us to work in the shop on an equality of wage slavery with the Negro, we fail to see why we shouldn't meet him on the basis of that same equality in our union. The Negro is exploited precisely as we are. Why, then, shouldn't we organize him precisely as we organize ourselves—"we whites"? The claim that the Negro may have a different skull is a child-like savage, can never be educated above menial employment, has a peculiar odor, is lustful, dishonest, treacherous, except when mastered like a colt, and all that other "bull," never worries the employer. He hires the Negro to take our places when we strike. He educates him to run machines, and develops his brain in ways untold. Why, then, should we bar the Negro? We don't and we will not, any more than we would bar the Jew, who, according to the same wonderful yarns, can give the Negro cards and spades in the matter of biological, cranological, malodorological and other shortcomings.

Yes, sir, the I. W. W. aims to organize every man, woman and child that is in the leaking, rotten boat of capitalism, so that we can all pull together for the shore of social safety and freedom just over yonder. From the brain worker and the Negro—from the stunted kiddie and robust woman—from all in wage slavery the I. W. W. draws its strength. It is embraced by them all, because it embraces them all.

How do we aim to do this, more specifically? Read on, and we shall attempt to tell.

A. F. OF L. AND I. W. W. COMPARED.

Comparisons may be odious, but they are also instructive. By comparing A. F. of L. forms and prin-

ciples of organization with those of the I. W. W. we will be better able to understand the latter.

The A. F. of L. organizes by trades, the I. W. W. by industries. The A. F. of L. separates labor, the I. W. W. unites it.

The A. F. of L. declares that "the interests of capital and labor are identical". The I. W. W. asserts that "the working class and the employing class have nothing in common."

The A. F. of L. believes that the capitalist system is a final one. It accordingly resists the development of a new society. The I. W. W. believes that capitalism is a stage in social progress that is breaking down. The I. W. W., accordingly, organizes industrially, in order to prepare the workers to carry on industry and society when capitalism shall have collapsed.

The A. F. of L. organizes by crafts to bargain. The I. W. W. by industries to take over industry.

The A. F. of L. is the bulwark of capitalism. The I. W. W. is the framework of the new society erected in the shell of the old.

Elucidation will help comparison in getting the best understanding of I. W. W. aims possible, as follows:

The A. F. of L. regards an industry as a series of autonomous trades that may be federated together for mutual protection. The A. F. of L. may be likened to the man who sorts out and separates the various strands of a steel cable and then ties them together with a string in the belief that he is keeping their original strength intact. The I. W. W. indulges in no such delusions. It regards the trades as the interwoven and interdependent strands of the steel cable of industry and organizes them as such. And then it weaves all the steel cables of the separate industries into a steel cable of all industries, thus making them able to support the weight of any attack of capitalism on the working class, in just about the same manner that the huge multiple steel cables of a suspension bridge sustains the tremendous tonnage of the structure.

HOW A. F. OF L. MISORGANIZES.

Let us illustrate.

In the printing and publishing industries, for instance, the A. F. of L. has split the workers into twenty-two separate trade unions. These organizations do not and cannot work together. Believing in local and trade autonomy, and the mutual interests of capital and labor, they organize separately in each city and make separate contracts with employers in each city. They are thus compelled to preserve and advance their own trade interests in each locality as against those of their fellow workers in the same locality and elsewhere.

The San Francisco and Chicago pressmen's strikes were lost because separate unions and trade contracts prevented united action on the part of sympathetic stereotypers and compositors, who gladly would act with their fellow-workers, but were contract bound to do otherwise.

The New York City "44-14" movement was crippled by these same separating tactics. The pressmen, feeders, compositors, etc., of Philadelphia and Boston signed contracts for themselves, to govern wages and conditions in their respective cities. The situation thus created was used against the New York City "44-14" movement. New York publishers had their printing done in these cities, in the successful effort to force their striking employees back to work. The situation was still further complicated by the conduct of the New York Photo-Engravers', Electrotypers', Bookbinders' and other unions, all of which refused to furnish their labor to employers that yielded to the "44-14" movement. They also furnished photo-electro plates of typewritten matter for magazines against which their fellowworkers in the printing and publishing industries were striking. To make matters still worse, the international officers of the striking pressmen, feeders and compositors, arrayed themselves with the employers' associations on

the basis of trade contracts and the mutual interests of capital and labor, with the result that five pressmen's unions were outlawed, and scabbed on by officially organized unions; and "the vacationists" of Big Six were denounced as the Bolshevists and Huns of the labor movement. Instead of being assisted in the spirit of solidarity—in the spirit of all labor against all capital—the New York "44-14" movement was attacked by A. F. of L. "unionism" in the spirit of "victory for employers only." The attack was a success.

A. F. OF L. SEPARATES LABOR.

These failures bring home the disunity caused by A. F. of L. local and trade divisions and the practical application of the "mutual interests" theory within the printing and publishing industries. They demonstrate that the A. F. of L. is a separation instead of a unification of Labor. Labor, as a whole, cannot unite on the principles of such an organization.

The failures, however, are not confined to the printing and publishing industries. They are typical of all the industries that are misorganized by the A. F. of L. These industries are split into 117 international unions which are, in turn, split into local unions, each with different contracts. For instance, during the recent New York Dockman's strike, it was shown that the agreements entered into by the officials of the International Longshoremen's Association with the Marine corporations, divided the men in each port into two distinct divisions, each with defferent wage scales and interests. These agreements, further, divided port against port. Under these agreements, could port stand by port?

A. F. of L. separation prevents labor from presenting a united front against capitalist aggression. Combined with A. F. of L. theories of the mutual interests of capital and labor and the finality of the

capitalist system, this separation makes labor its own worst enemy. It makes the A. F. of L., in other words, capitalism's greatest hope and bulwark. The capitalists, like, Gary, who combat the A. F. of L., are blind to its essentially capitalist character and function as a protector of capitalism.

HOW I. W. W. ORGANIZES—ONE BIG UNION.

Separation, to the destruction of working class unity, and the preservation of capitalism, could not happen in the I. W. W. Where the A. F. of L. goes into an industry and organizes twenty-two loosely federated trade unions, separated by local and trade autonomy and contracts, the I. W. W. organizes all the workers in that industry just as they work, on the basis of the class struggle. It organizes the workers in conformity with the organization of the industry in which they are employed. There is no division according to locality, tools used, skill required, or specialty of labor performed, but organization according to products, transported, or communicated everywhere.

The industrial union no more plays one section of the country, or one trade in an industry, against another, to the detriment of labor, than the employers' associations play them against one another to the detriment of capital. In the lumber workers' I. W. W. strike of 1917, the lumber industry in the five northwestern states was tied up tighter than a drum for over three months. There was no local or trade autonomy there. There was industrial action with industrial results, beneficial to labor in the end.

I. W. W. SHOP AND WORLD ORGANIZATION.

The cell of industrial union organization is the shop, or plant, or establishment in which the workers are employed. This shop, or plant, or establishment is in turn, organized in a local branch of the industrial

union, or union of the industry in which the plant operates. The branch may be connected with the branches of other industrial unions in adistrict council. Or it may be connected with a district council of other branches of the industrial union itself. The industrial unions are, in turn, bound together in one big union—in the Industrial Workers of the World, which spreads abroad when and wherever possible as industry spreads abroad. World-corporations and world-industry are facts; so also must world labor organization be.

I. W. W. PROMOTES CLASS SOLIDARITY.

The idea underlying the I. W. W. form of organization is solidarity! Industrial Solidarity!! Working class Solidarity!!! Joseph J. Ettor, addressing the Lawrence Textile strikers at the Franco-Belgian Hall, on Jan. 25, 1912, most eloquently voiced the I. W. W. idea when he said:

> "The days that have just passed have demonstrated the power of the workers. The power of the workers consists of something more than the power of the capitalists. The power of the capitalists is based on property. Property makes them all-powerful, socially and politically. Because of it they control the institutions of attack and defense; they have the laws, the army, everything! They can employ agents to go around to plant dynamite and to provoke disorder among the workers, in order to defeat them.
>
> "In spite of all that, the workers have something still more powerful. The workers' power, the one thing more powerful than all the property, all the machine guns, all the gallows, and everything on the other side, is the common bond of solidarity, of purpose, of ideals. Our love of solidarity, our purpose and our affection for one another as workers, binds us more solidly and tighter than do all the bombs and dynamite that the capitalists have at their disposal. If the workers of the world want to win, all that they have to do is to recognize their own solidarity. They have nothing to do but to fold their arms and the world will stop. The workers are more powerful with their hands in their pockets than all the property of the capitalists. **As long as the workers keep their**

> **hands in their pockets the capitalists cannot put theirs there. With passive resistance, with the workers absolutely refusing to move, laying absolutely silent, they are more powerful than all the weapons and instruments that the other side have for protection and attack."**

These words have proven prophetic on more than one occasion since the Lawrence strike of 1912.

THE JOB DELEGATE.

The work of organizing, under present I. W. W. methods, is generally begun by the job delegate. He is a member who works on the job, that is, is regularly employed in a shop or plant, etc. He is empowered by his industrial union to organize that job. He accepts and initiates as new members all the wage workers employed on the job. He instructs them in their rights and duties; supplies them with due books, stamps, constitutions, referendums, and other organization matters. When the job is sufficiently organized, he calls a shop meeting and turns its affairs over to the shop organization. He always carries I. W. W. credentials. Otherwise he is unauthorized to organize.

THE UNIVERSAL DELEGATE.

A development of the job delegate idea, is the universal delegate. He is not limited to any one job or industry. He aids all job delegates. He is empowered to initiate members of all industrial unions, in accordance with the conditions prevailing in the locality where he is employed, or active.

The job delegate system is the I. W. W. attempt at a real rank and file movement. It is an attempt to build the organization from the bottom up, and to get away from dependence on paid organizers and officials who acquire prominence and use their prestige to the detriment of labor. This anti-bureaucratic tendency favors real wage workers as the

officials of labor unions; limits the term of office, and otherwise endeavors to keep the organization free from officialdom and dry rot.

The job delegate system has proven to be the mainstay of the organization. By means of it the I. W. W. was held together during the terrible oppression attending the war hysteria, when even meetings were impossible. The I. W. W. slogan now is, "Be an I. W. W. booster! Be a job delegate!"

I. W. W. JOB CONTROL AND SHOP COMMITTEES

The basis of the I. W. W. organization, as already pointed out, is the shop, or plant, or establishment, which, in I. W. W. language means the same thing. The shop organization is democratic. Its principle is rule from the bottom up, for all and by all those working in the shop. Shop meetings are held at which all matters affecting the shop, the industrial union and the I. W. W. are formulated and decided, through the initiative, referendum and recall. Every member is privileged and encouraged to bring forward grievances, solutions, and ideas favorable to the uplift of the working class and society. It is recognized that the I. W. W. shop organization is the cell of the new society, based on workers' ownership, control and management.

In addition to doing all of the foregoing, the shop organization elects a shop committee which acts under its guidance and instruction. The shop committee presents all wage and other demands to the employer, but has no power to conclude any settlement without the approval of the shop organization, acting either alone, or with the other shop organizations through the industrial unions and the I. W. W.

PREPARING TO RUN INDUSTRY.

The I. W. W. shop organization develops technical knowledge in the working class and prepares it to

take over technical management in behalf of society when capitalism shall have collapsed, as it gives every indication of doing. It is made possible by the general tendencies of industry, which, through the high cost of living, the increasing intensification of labor and the elimination of skill, are making the demands of labor more general than specific, as in the case of demands for increased wages and reduced hours, all of which are now being made without regard to differences in occupation or trade.

The I. W. W. shop committees were first introduced in the Brooklyn, N. Y., shoe strike of 1911. The shop committee of Frank & Harris, selected from all the branches, then presented a scale of prices and regulations acceptable to all concerned. The I. W. W. shop committees thus antedate the English shop steward movement by about seven years. They differ from the English institution in that they represent industrially organized trades, instead of the separate trade unions in the shop.

Under the shop organizing system of the I. W. W. the "organized scabbery" of the A. F. of L. trade unions is impossible. All the trades in the industry, acting as a unit, on the basis of the conflicting interests of capital and labor, strike together and settle together. Any shop or branch including more than one shop, that violates the industrial, class union principles of the I. W. W. is expelled, as are also any and all members of the I. W. W. so doing. An I. W. W. organization at Great Falls, Montana, was expelled en masse for signing a contract with employers.

A SAMPLE OF ORGANIZED SCABBERY.

We repeat, under the I. W. W. plan of organizing all shops, plants, establishments, or jobs, into an industrial union, no shop, or plant, would strike alone. This has been demonstrated in all I. W. W. strikes. Nor would one shop or plant, be used against another on strike, as is done in the A. F. of L. Take the

Willys-Overland auto strike in Toledo, Ohio, May, 1919, for instance. In that strike the machinists in outside independent shops, scabbed on their striking co-members in the Willys-Overland shop. The facts are given in "The Boomer," the I. W. W. metal and machinery workers' industrial union organ, for September, 1919, as follows:

"The Willys-Overland Co. locked out its employees on the morning of May 5, because they refused to work more than forty-four hours per week. During the following weeks, it slowly filled the shops with non-union and unskilled workers. School boys and country boys were put upon the elaborate processes of the machine shop and of course, the bosses found it an expensive job. So the Overland Co. hit upon a better plan. Lacking the union tool makers and die makers, it began to send out the finer operations to outside, independent machine shops, where the operations were done and the work returned to the Overland scabs.

"And the outstanding facts was this: That these outside shops were organized union shops, employing I. A. of M. members—brother members of the same union that was striking in the Overland.. And these I. A. of M. brothers did the work for the Overland that their co-members had refused to do.

"But even in the I. A. of M. there is a limit to the endurance of the rank and file. Seeing themselves being defeated by their craft brothers, the strikers called a special meeting of the I. A. of M. to call a general strike of all Toledo machine shops. This strike would have saved the situation and defeated the Willy's-Overland. Indeed, the strike vote carried by a majority of 200 in the special meeting, but under the reactionary rules of the A. F. of L. a two-thirds majority was required. The general strike proposal was declared lost and the I. A. of M. men continued to scab on each other."

The Toledo machinists are now trying to get their union, the International Association of Machinists,

to change to a metal industrial union. But the A. F. of L., in order to protect the various international craft unions involved, will not permit such a step. It has already ousted the Auto Workers' Union, for refusing to disband and surrender its members to the interested craft organizations.

I. W. W. AND GENERAL STRIKE.

The A. F. of L. is organized, not only to prevent industrial unionism within an industry, but also the industrial unity of all industries. The A. F. of L. is a federation of trades and labor unions, not an organization based on industry and embracing all the industries in one big union, like the Industrial Workers of the World. Its object is to bargain with the capitalists as crafts, not to organize the workers as a class to run industry for themselves and society.

The I. W. W. calls such actions as the Willy's-Overland affair and the threatened dismemberment of the Auto Workers' Union, "organized scabbery". They, by dividing the workers, help the corporations to win. The following incident will assist in making the I. W. W. viewpoint clear:

During the Lawrence Textile strike of 1912, Joseph J. Ettor, general organizer of the I. W. W., addressed a meeting of the Wool sorters' Union. After his address he was asked "What is a scab?" To which Ettor replied, "A scab is a worker who by any act aids or abets the employers in times of conflict." Thereupon another worker wanted to know: "Do not the principles that apply to the definition of a scab also apply to an industry?" "Yes," replied Ettor; "the Industrial Workers of the World means the organization of all workers in one big union according to industries. When an industry goes on strike, if it needs the help of the industry immediately related to it, it will call on that industry to make common cause with it. It it requires the help

of still other industries, the I. W. W. will act on the same principle." Such is the I. W. W. It recognizes that industry is general; so much strikes be.

A. F. OF L. EVASION OF REAL UNIONISM.

The moral of the above story can be applied by any worker. The A. F. of L. unions are trying to apply it many ways that evade real industrial union forms and principles. For instance, take the steel strike of 1919. Therein the strikers were led to believe that the railroad workers and the coal miners would act in sympathy with them. This was impossible, owing to contracts with employers. These contracts compelled the railroaders and miners to act as separate organizations, and on the principle of the mutual interests of capital and labor. No real industrial union is so organized as to act independent of other industries. Nor does a real industrial union sign contracts with employers.

HALF-BREED ORGANIZATIONS.

The failure to recognize completely the new developments in industry has caused the old trade union to compromise with them. The result is half-breed organizations, that are neither trade nor industrial unions, with most of the vices of the former and few of the virtues of the latter. Alliances, departments, federations—all are but attempts to evade the real union, the one big union advocated by the I. W. W. They confuse and confound unionism instead of simplifying and strengthening it.

Take the allied printing trades, for instance. Wherein does it promote graphic industrial unionism? Most of the time of the organization is spent in trying to decide whether the union label shall be the exclusive property of the typographical union, or whether the pressmen shall also have the right to withdraw it from struck shops, too? When this is not on the floor, the "important" work consists in

either refusing the amalgamated lithographers' association admission or devising ways and means of splitting that organization in favor of the photo-engravers' and the pressmen. Some "industrial union tendencies."

And then those departments! Say, workingmen, honest, did you ever hear of a "department" in the A. F. of L. doing anything else than provide a James Lord, or James O'Connell, or some other labor misleader with a good fat-paying position, wherein to choke radical developments? So far as we can see, a department is a curb on real progress; and an expensive one too, considering the salaries paid to departmental officials. So far as observable, the departmental feature does not prevent the individual trade strike and sell out, as when, in the building trades department, the bricklayers, plasterers, electricians, etc. go it alone, and sacrifice the laborers, whenever conditions will permit, to their own interests.

As for the shopmen's system federations, who can forget how, in the Harriman railroad strike, the International Machinists officials played the other crafts interests against one another, for their own associations ends. More "industrial union tendencies," no doubt.

Take again, the harbor strike in New York City. There we see a united front of all the boatmen's trade unions disrupted by two of the unions in the so-called Marine Workers' Affiliation selling out. In this, as in all the other cases, the wrong forms and principles of organization prevailed.

But the new day is dawning. On all sides are the rank and file asserting themselves against official betrayal and wrong organization. In addition, the I. W. W. is growing as it never grew before.

PROOF OF I. W. W. SOUNDNESS.

The proof of the soundness of I. W. W. forms and principles of organization is to be found in the bitter

attacks which are made upon them by the corporations and capitalists institutions generally. The capitalist class instinctiveley realizes the dangers to its interests involved in the thorough organization of labor intent on improvement and emancipation.

Further proof is shown in the success of I. W. W. strikes, such as those at Lawrence, Mass., in 1912 and in the latter day strikes of the lumbermen and miners of the Northwest. In Lawrence, the I. W. W. united all branches of the textile industry, all the organized unions, and the unorganized workers, in one big strike committee that won. In the Lumbermen's and miners' strikes the I. W. W. pursued the same policy in the face of even greater odds than at Lawrence, and won. Where the I. W. W. loses, incomplete organization, combined with overepowering opposition of all kinds is generally the cause. Lawlessness is mainly the weapon of the opposition.

A final proof of the soundness of I. W. W. forms and principles of organization is to be found in the spread of one big union organization and ideas in Canada, Australia, England, Russia, Germany and this country. The I. W. W., thanks to industrial evolution and I. W. W. propaganda and example combined, is the inevitable solution of the problems of capitalism for the working class the world over. This fact is dawning on labor everywhere, as events, such as the revolts in the A. F. of L. and the suspension of A. F. of L. mine workers' locals, plainly show.

PRESENT I. W. W. STRENGTH.

The I. W. W. has at present (Nov. 1, 1919) twenty-one industrtial unions in working order. This besides a General Recruiting Union, comprising a large number of branches. In addition, there are also a considerable number isolated unions in industries without a sufficient membership to form an industrial union. The total good-standing membership is estimated at 100,000.

The Industrial Unions are each presided over by a general organization committee of five members and a General Secretary-Treasurer. The Industrial Workers of the World are presided over by a general executive board of seven members, representative of the industrial unions, and a general secretary-treasurer. All are subject to instruction, referendum and recall. All have their present headquarters at 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

The following are the chartered industrial unions; Marine Transport Workers', No. 8; Bakery Workers', No. 46; Metal and Machinery Workers', No. 300; Shipbuilders' No. 325; Agricultural Workers', No. 400; Fishermen's No. 448; Furniture Workers' No. 480; Oil Workers', No. 450; Rubber Workers', No. 470; Lumber Workers', No. 500; Construction Workers', No. 573; Railroad Workers' No. 600; Shoe Workers', 620; Metal Mine Workers', No. 800; Coal Miners', No. 900; Textile Workers', No. 1000; Hotel, Restaurant and Domestic Workers', No. 1100; Printing and Publishing Workers', No. 1200; General Distribution Workers', No. 1300; and Foodstuff Workers', No. 1500; Tobacco Workers', No. 1150.

Industrial unions, No. 300, No. 400; No. 500, No. 573, No. 600, No. 800, and No. 1100 report an increase of 28,000 in membership from Sept. 1, 1918 to Sept. 1, 1919. As this increase was made during the severest stage of the war persecutions, it testifies most eloquently to the fact that the I. W. W. has a vitality that capitalism cannot crush.

I. W. W. WORLD-WIDE.

The I. W. W. like the world-corporation and world-industry is world-wide. It was represented at the Amsterdam International Conference. Also at the Budapest meeting of the International Labor Secretariat in 1910. The European movement, in turn, was active in the successful agitation for the release of Ettor and Giovannitti in 1912. Subsequently, one

of the I. W. W.'s most representative men, Wm. D. Haywood, visited Europe, and spoke in England and Ireland, aiding the industrial union movement there. The I. W. W. has affiliated organizations in Great Britain and Australia. It also conducts correspondence and has connections with the labor movement of France, Italy, Spain, Russia, Scandinavia, Mexico, Argentine and other South American countries; all of whom work in friendly co-operation with it, are interested in its progress, and look to it for guidance as the industrial labor organization of the most advanced industrial country in the world. As. Wm. D. Haywood well said to Robert Minor, "The sun never sets on the I. W. W."

An organization so well founded, so thoroughly in accord with world tendencies and world labor movements can only have a great future, despite its small, though influential membership in the past. The I. W. W. can well afford to look forward instead of backward. Its prospects are brighter and better for good than ever before in all its stirring history of nearly fifteen years of existence.

V.—CURRENT QUESTIONS AND THE I. W. W.

The I. W. W. is called on by many students to state its attitude on various questions, relationship and problems. This is as it should be. If the I. W. W. itself is not an answer to social problems, if it cannot define its own attitudes, it had better call in its charters, lock the doors of its various headquarters, and leave the field to an organization that meets these requirements.

Generally speaking, the I. W. W. believes that most social problems are caused by the capitalist exploitation of labor. To this exploitation can be traced the need for foreign markets, fields of investments abroad, and world wars. To this exploitation is also traceable gross materialism, savage irreligion, lack of ideal aspirations, the curbing of ambitions of a

social nature, the stifling of the intellect for any other than personal or class ends, race wars, class wars, in brief, all the ugly, ghastly horrors of modern life.

The I. W. W. accordingly believes that the solution of modern problems and the establishment of better social relations and ideals, requires the abolition of capitalist exploitation. Otherwise, the evils will not only continue but grow worse in addition. However, too often, this statement is not acceptable; specific knowledge is desired, as follows:

DOES THE I. W. W. WANT TO DIVIDE UP?

Though this is a very venerable old question, lots of smart young men ask it. The answer is—No; the I. W. W. wants to stop dividing up. Today the worker, in order to secure employment and live, must divide up his product with the capitalist employer. As the capitalist employs many laborers, his share of the division is large. It makes him both wealthy and powerful. By securing all that it produces, the I. W. W. will stop capitalist dividing up, and make labor wealthy and powerful instead of poverty-stricken and weak, as it is now.

WILL NOT GIVING LABOR ALL IT PRODUCES DESTROY CAPITAL?

This question is a survival of an old, exploded theory. According to this theory, capital is due to the savings of the individual capitalist. Hence, if the individual capitalist cannot take from labor and save, where is capital to come from? Capital is no longer a result of individual savings, but of corporate, social saving. For instance, corporations, composed of changing stockholders, nowadays provide for depreciation, new construction, new capital, etc., out of the products they take from labor. That is, they reserve a certain portion of profits for these pur-

poses. The I. W. W., when in control of industry, will do essentially the same thing. It will reserve a portion of labor's products for industrial progress and social welfare, with the consent of the laborers.

ISN'T CAPITALIST ABILITY NECESSARY TO DIRECT INDUSTRY?

Yes; it is necessary to direct industry into the national wars and class wars, the world-hell generally, in which society now finds itself. Otherwise we can get along without it. Strictly speaking, there is no such thing as capitalist ability and direction. There is such a thing as the ability and direction of large numbers of salaried men and government scientists—co-operative and social ability—hired by and exploited by the capitalist class for its own damnable profit-making, civilization-destroying system. The I. W. W. will do away with this misuse of real ability. It will utilize real ability for social instead of private capitalist ends.

DOES THE I. W. W. ORGANIZE THE BRAINWORKERS?

The questions raised as to the relation of the brain worker to the labor movement are of English origin. In England, intellectual socialists exist who raise the brain worker to a separate status, where in this country he is considered as only one of the many cogs in the mechanism of capitalism and organized as an integral part of that same mechanism.

The reason that the brain worker is exploited for wages, or salary, as are all other workers, is to be found in the peculiar trust or financial ownership of industry. Lucian Sanial, the well-known economist, once said of this ownership (Socialist Almanac, p. 126):

> We may further observe that this is in essence a financial movement. The very nature of it requires that it should be led and shaped by financiers, who make no distinction between industries, and view all commodities in the light of their exchange value, expressed in money, and leave to technical men in their employ all technical considerations of the manufacturing and commercial order as to their respective use values.

Translated into simpler language, this means that the financiers hire others at salaries and wages to create profits for them. These hired men have executive and organizing ability, inventive, chemical, clerical and mechanical skill, persuasive selling powers, legal and business training, not to mention muscular and physical strength of every degree of development and variety of capacity and endurance. On their expert reports and suggestions as executive committeemen, department heads, efficiency managers, engineers, organizers, experimenters, inventors, analysts, chemists, accountants, advisers, supervisors, foremen, mechanics, laborers, helpers, etc., depends the evolution and operation of modern capitalist industrial enterprise. This enterprise is run by hired subordinates of all kinds, who have no property rights, nor deciding voice in it, and who are all subject to the financial absolutism on top, that governs it.

The I. W. W. organizes these men just as they work for the financiers, without regard to their technical classification. It has many so-called brain workers; that is, intellectual proletarians, such as journalists, artists, civil engineers, managers, etc., etc., in its ranks. There is no problem of the brain worker in the I. W. W. The I. W. W. recognizes his value, as it does the value of the humblest workers. The I. W. W. organizes them all. One for all, all for one, is its slogan.

WITH THE A. F. OF L. IN EXISTENCE, IS THE I. W. W. NEEDED AS A LABOR ORGANIZATION?

In the first place, this question is wrong in implying that the A. F. of L. is a labor organization. The

fact that the A. F. of L. is an organization composed of laborers does not make it a labor organization. The German army under the Kaiser was an army of Germans, not for the Germans, but the Kaiser. So, too, the A. F. of L. is an army of laborers, not for labor but for capital. In the last analysis, the A. F. of L. is committed to the perpetuation of capitalism. It is so organized as to make that perpetuation possible.

On the other hand, the I. W. W. is opposed to capitalism and strives to inaugurate an industrial democracy to supplant the rule of the capitalist financial oligarchy. Composed of laborers, for laborers, by laborers, as it is, standing firmly on the class struggle and making no contracts, or alliances, with employers, as it does, the I. W. W. is the only labor organization in this country today.

In the second place, the I. W. W. is needed because of the incomplete organization of the workers by the A. F. of L. The A. F. of L., owing to high initiation fees, job monopolies, race prejudices, color lines, etc., cannot and will not organize all the workers. The result is great masses of unorganized.

Lauck & Sydenstricker, in their book, "Conditions of Labor in American Industries," give the grand total of trade union membership in 1913-1914 as 2,700,000. This includes the A. F. L., railroad brotherhoods, independent and miscellaneous bodies, and the I. W. W. In 1919 the A. F. of L. itself claimed 3,000,000 members, and launched a drive for 4,000,000.

Consider what these figures mean. In agriculture alone, for instance, there are 6,000,000 laborers. This is twice as many workers in one industry alone as in the entire A. F. of L. membership. Again, the 1914 census gives 8,263,153 persons as the number employed in manufacturing industries. A large army of women and children has since been added. So that it is safe to state that 10,000,000 is about the number now. This is more than three times the total

A. F. of L. membership for 1919. In the railroad industry 1,710,296 persons are employed. Only 561,700 are organized. This is typical of all industries.

From the figures here given on agriculture, manufacturing and railroading—18,000,000 in all—it is evident that the A. F. of I. has organized a number of workers equal to only one-sixth of the workers employed in these industries. If we take the entire body of workers, variously estimated at from thirty to forty millions, we discover that only one out of every ten is organized in the A. F. of L.

What with Canadian labor organiztions withdrawing and with internal revolts on all sides, resulting in "outlaw" organizations, as in the pressmen's association—add to all this the increasing tendency to the formation of independent labor unions—and it will be evident that the A. F. of L., as a "labor organization," is not what it seems to be.

Another labor organization is needed to organize labor more completely on modern lines. The I. W. W. is the only body that meets the new requirements.

WHERE IS THE I. W. W. STRONGEST?

In the Pacific Northwest. There, thousands of lumberjacks migrate from log camp to log camp in the constant search for a job. What are they up against? The greatest of monopolies—combined railroad, landholding and lumbering monopolies! Hear the report of the Bureau of Corporations on "The Lumber Industry," on some of the opponents of the I. W. W. in the Pacific Northwest: "The Southern Pacific has 4,318,000 acres in northern California and western Oregon, and, with the Union Pacific, which controls it, millions of acres elsewhere. The Northern Pacific owns 3,017,000 acres of timberland. . . . The Weyerhauser Lumber Company owns 1,945,000 . . . Finally, to timber concentration and the land concentration is added, in our most important timber section, a closely connected rail-

road domination. The formidable possibilities of this combination in the Pacific Northwest and elsewhere are of the gravest public importance. In the last forty years concentration has so proceeded that 195 holders, many inter-related, now have practically one-half of the privately owned timber in the investigation area (which contains 80 per cent of the whole)."

It is this vast concentration that the I. W. W. has fought most successfully! Where formerly the workers were compelled to carry their own blankets, sleep in filthy bunk houses, with no washing and sanitary conveniences, were provided with poor food, badly cooked, and were required to spend long hours going to and from a day's work at low pay, they now get blankets, good beds, clean bunk houses, shower baths, good food, better cooked, together with an eight-hour work day and $5 a day pay.

This has only been achieved after a persistent struggle against terrible odds, that included loss of life, repeated arrests, imprisonment and, apparently, the total destruction of the I. W. W. Today the I. W. W. in the Northwest, with Seattle as the center, is the strongest stronghold of the I. W. W. It is in this section that job organization, job control and job delegates flourish. It is in this section that one of the best I. W. W. weekly publications, The Industrial Worker, is published. It is this section that evinces the most industrial union tendencies.

Another strong I. W. W. organization near this section is the Metal Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 800. This organization has had to fight the lawless Phelps-Dodge-Ryan-Guggenheim-Standard Oil-Amalgamated mining interests. It was this combination that deported the Bisbee strikers, among whom the I. W. W. figured most actively and prominently. It was this combination that lynched Frank Little at Butte.

Despite them all, the I. W. W. grows, pushing the A. F. of L., International Mine and Smelter Workers'

Union (formerly the Western Federation of Miners), out of existence, while gaining ground and winning improved conditions in many places.

The I. W. W. miners at Park City, Utah, was the first American labor organization to strike for a six-hour day.

Enough said.

THE FARMER AND THE I. W. W.

The farmer and the I. W. W. is another relationship that the I. W. W. is called on to define and to determine. But really industrial evolution is determining it instead.

Industrial evolution has taken from the farm many of its former functions. Canning, packing, preserving, refrigerating, storing, milling, manufacturing and transporting farm products was once all done by farmers. Now trusts perform all these acts. They, accordingly, monopolize farm production and determine its activities, in combination with the money trust.

Frederick Howe shows that this condition had made farming so unprofitable in 1915 as to cause a decrease in the per capita production of meats, milk, cereals and potatoes. It has also caused the entrance of the corporation into farming, in order to insure supplies. In New York State, for instance, the Borden Milk Trust has gone into dairying in order to get sufficient products for its own business. This was rendered necessary by the decrease in milch cows in the state, due to low prices to the farmer.

The same thing is noticeable in canning and preserving. Corporations, like the Lipton Co., the Burt-Olney Canning Co., and others, are insuring their own supplies by conducting their own truck farms. In addition, the big farm corporation, as a farm corporation pure and simple, has arrived and is increasing in numbers. The Taft Co., with its 150-mile farm; the Miller & Lux Co., whose lands run contigously

through six states, numbering millions of acres, and other giant corporations, are reducing farming to an industrial basis. They are creating an agricultural proletariat, and the farm conducted on industrial principles of profit-making. They are preparing the communal agriculture of the future.

All these tendencies contribute to a revolution in farming. They have given rise to farm laborers and tenancy to an astonishing degree. Of the 12,690,000 persons reported by the 1914 census as occupied in agricultural pursuits, one-half, according to Scott Nearing, are farm laborers. According to the estimates of the Walsh Industrial Relations Commission, from two to three millions more are tenants. Frederick Howe states that 37 per cent of all farms in 1910 were operated by others than owners. He adds, "In some parts of the country from 60 to 70 per cent of the farms are cultivated by the tenants for non-resident owners." From all of which it would appear that about two-thirds of the farmers of this country are not farm owners.

The revolutionary tendencies of farming are likely to increase, instead of decrease. Another authority, Frank Tracy Carlton, believes that the development toward larger farms, the efficient utilization of machinery thereon, the present high prices of farm products, the increase in land values, and the decrease in opportunities for extensive investments in railway and manufacturing enterprises, will tend to cause a rush of capital into agriculture in the near future. He adds:

> The application of capital on a large scale, the appeal to scientific agriculture, and the introduction of scientific management and cost accounting, may be expected to work marvelous changes. Many omens of changes to come may be discerned.

Since Professor Carlton wrote those words, Armour & Co. have entered agriculture in California. The scientific imagination has again proven prophetic!

Now, the I. W. W. reacts in response to these tend-

encies in two ways. One is theoretical, the other practical. Theoretically, there are some I. W. W.'s who believe that the small farmer must be saved, and that the I. W. W. should combine with him against capitalism in so doing. Others believe that since agriculture is becoming industrialized, and is largely determined by the I. W. W. factors, it should be regarded by the I. W. W. as an industrial proposition, to be organized industrially and operated industrially.

It is the farm laborers, the hop and fruit pickers, the ranchers, the harvest stiffs, etc., etc., that the I. W. W. has found easiest to organize. They are generally employed by large farmers, like the Dauss Bros., or large corporations, like the Miller-Laux Co., who have proven by their ruthless exploitation of labor that "the employing class and the working class have nothing in common." It is among these savagely fleeced wokers that the I. W. W. has one of its largest industrial unions at present, namely, Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 400. This is as it should be. Such a basic industry should be the basis of the I. W. W. as well as of society. The organization of agriculture by the agricultural workers will be the supreme necessity of the new society.

The I. W. W. agricultural workers' industrial union is alive to its important mission. It has not only secured increased wages, reduced hours and better accommodations and conditions for agricultural labor, but it is awake to the many-sided problems that beset agriculture and the I. W. W. It has already published a book on the subject, and the membership of Industrial Union No. 400 (Agricultural Workers), are writing an agricultural handbook of their own. It is seeking to interest the "home guard," has the tenant farmer under consideration, unites all races, colors, creeds and sexes—in fact, is organized in a truly scientific educational spirit for the ultimate good of the farm workers and all society.

The I. W. W. agricultural workers are helping along the tendencies toward the socialized agriculture of the coming day!

WHAT IS THE I. W. W. REMEDY FOR THE HIGH COST OF LIVING?

When all is said and done, there is only one remedy. That is to abolish the high cost of capitalism by abolishing capitalism itself.

It is not the "cost of high living" that makes the cost of living high, but the high piles of interest, rent and profits to the capitalists—the high cost of capitalism to the workers—that does the trick.

The working class turns over to the capitalist idlers, products amounting to billions in wealth; it further gives billions more to be used in expanding their already enormous capital and make allowance for its depreciation. After that, do you wonder that the workers have little in their own pockets wherewith to meet the increased cost of living, while their exploiters not only live more extravagantly than ever before but also are wealthier than ever before ?

So we say, abolish the high cost of living by abolishing the high cost of capitalism to the workers, via the abolition of capitalism itself.

Don't think that the cost of living can be reduced by changing tariffs, presidents, the control of administrations by other parties, or even by conferring new honors on Sam Gompers.

The cost of living has been rising steadily all over the world for the past thirty years. It made no difference whether earthquakes rocked Italy or not; or whether God and the Kaiser stuck together or fell out. It made no difference whether crops failed or were exceptionally large—the cost of living went up and then up some more. No matter what happened, where or how it happened, up it went!

The cause is generally said to be the constant decline in the value of gold, which is the standard measure of all values under capitalism. Where formerly a gold dollar would buy, say, a pair of shoes, it is now so easily and abundantly produced by the labor socially necessary to its production, as to make it so cheap that you must now spend two gold dollars to buy the same pair of shoes that you bought before. Consequently, if you want to get more shoes, you must get more dollars, more wages, wherewith to buy them. And, in order to get more wages, you must, as workingmen, have more and better organization such, as the I. W. W., that will not rest until wages represent, not your necessities, but your earnings—all of your products. Then you will have abolished capitalism and its high costs of all kinds.

HOW WILL THE I. W. W. ADMINISTRATION FUNCTION?

Through democratically selected representatives from industrial instead of territorial groupings; all subject to instruction and recall. Corporations like the Pennsylvania Railroad, for instance, are administered that way. They administer affairs requiring thousands of employees in many cities, regardless of geographical or political lines. In some instances, like Altoona, Pa., they dominate the very cities in which these workers live. In other instances, like Gary, Ind., the citadel of the Steel Trust, they even plan the city and create new systems of instruction, in addition. Every institution in society—press, pulpit, school—is being modified either in co-operation with or under the influence of corporations. The University of Cincinnati, for instance, gives vocational training of all kinds in conjunction with actual employment on the railroads and in other industries. The Union College of Schenectady, N. Y., has been transformed practically from a theological seminary into a technical annex of the General Electric plant there. The center of I. W. W. administration will be industrial, instead of political, in keeping with the tendencies of the age.

DOES THE I. W. W. RECOGNIZSE RACE LINES?

No more than the corporations and employers do when they work all the races together for profit. It is only when the employers want to destroy organization among their employees that they appeal to race hatred. The I. W. W. refuses to help the bosses in the work of dividing labor by raising race issues.

The I. W. W. organizes the Mexican miner, the Spanish fireman, the Negro workers of all kinds, the Japanese fisherman, the Chinese cook, the Hindu construction worker; in fact, all races, regardless of religion, color of skin, shape of skull, or kinks in the hair. As long as they are wage workers, and can straighten out the capitalist kinks in their brains, the I. W. W. welcomes them, every one of them.

In 1911 the United States Immigration Commission found that in twentyone basic industries, 42 per cent of the wage earners were of native birth, while 58 per cent were foreign born. Of the native born, one-fifth were Negroes. Consider what this would mean to any organization based on race or color lines. It would mean the exclusion of the majority of the workers. Its race prejudices and color lines may acco ıt, in part, for the comparatively small membership of the A. F. of L.

In the matter of immigration, the I. W. W. believes that that can be regulated by an industrial organization of labor embracing all parts of the world. By means of such an organization the workers could be warned against the seductive lies of steamship companies and the alluring promises of high wages, steady work and advancement made by deceitful corporations, intent on cheap and strike-breaking laborers.

DOES THE I. W. W. FAVOR THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS?

Decidedly not! In the eyes of the I. W. W. there is no real league of nations, as yet. There is a league

of capitalistic-imperialistic exterminations, secretly formulated in Paris. Its first object is to exterminate the world organization of labor that is opposed to imperialism and war. Its second and greatest object is to exterminate every attempt at a new social order, as in Hungary and Russia. As Senator Johnson well says, "The League of Nations is an attempt to put progress in a straight-jacket."

Scott Nearing calls "The League of Nations" a "league of robber nations," in whose organization "the people" of the nations have had no say. He further shows that its composition is made up of the dominant capitalist groups of Great Britain, France, Japan, Italy and the United States, all of whom prey on weaker nations, stealing their territory and property away from them, in the search for foreign markets and fields of investment. This, in the name of "law and order," "stability," "culture," and "democracy."

As the concrete expression of "a world made safe for democracy," the league of nations is a ghastly joke. As an attempt to make the world safe for financial oligarchy it is a demonstration of the desperate straits in which world-capitalism finds itself at the present time.

The I. W. W. favors a league of the world's workers against the world's ravishers. It favors the organization of labor on the lines of world industry, to strike on such lines against war and the outrages against humanity arising from capitalism. In Italy, sailors have refused to man ships intended to help in the overthrow of the Soviet Republic. In Seattle, Wash., longshoremen refused to load ships with ammunition consigned to Kolchak, the Cossack military representative of a Cossack capitalism, seeking to destroy free Russia. These, and other events, indicate how the real league of nations is forming and acting.

With corporations in existence having world-wide branches, with inventions like the steamship, wire-

less, aeroplane, etc., eliminating distance, time and national barriers, the industrial organization of labor on a world basis is not only possible but necessary. Especially is it necessary in view of the attempted control of world interests by world financiers. Labor alone, acting on a world-scale industrially, can save the world from the stupendous disasters into which the conflicting group interests of the world's financial oligarchy may at any time hurl it.

IS THE I. W. W. ANARCHISTIC?

That all depends on what is meant by "anarchistic." According to the popular use of the word, it means a resort to violence, disorder and lawlessness. In this sense of the term, modern capitalism is "anarchistic" and the I. W. W. is not!

The lynching of Frank Little by mine corporation thugs at Butte, Mont., was "anarchistic." The deportation of the Bisbee strikers by the same elements was "anarchistic." The murder of five I. W. W. on the steamboat Verona by armed members of the Commercial Club was "anarchistic"! The raiding of the I. W. W. hall in Centralia was "anarchistic," as was the shooting of nineteen union miners in Butte in April, 1920.

Has the I. W. W. or any of its sympathizers ever lynched a capitalist? Has it ever deported 1,200 of them into the desert, at the point of a gun? Has it ever murdered five of them by shooting into a boatload of them? "Is the I. W. W. anarchistic?" Think it over!

Ponder also on the disorders, violence and lawlessness that ensue from the wars and cataclysms resulting from the capitalist search for world markets and fields of investments. Then remember that the I. W. W. is opposed to war. After which ask yourself again, "is the I. W. W. anarchistic?" Ask yourself who's "anarchistic"?

Outside of capitalist "anarchy" there are many

brands of real anarchy, however. In fact, there are many more brands of anarchy than the famous "57 varieties," or the various religious sects of the world, not to mention the numerous socialist parties and craft unions. Every anarchist has a little anarchy of his own. So we answer:

The I. W. W. is not anarchistic, if anarchy means a perverted Nietzcheanism, or gross individualism. It is not anarchistic, if anarchy means group isolation and decentralization. It is not anarchistic, if anarchy means voluntary utopianism, instead of economic determinism. It is not anarchistic, if anarchy means opposition to labor organization on the lines of modern industry. It is not anarchistic, if anarchy means an absence of administration by orderly processes. It is not anarchistic, if anarchy means the rule of the individual, or minority. It is not anarchistic, if anarchy means an absence of co-operation in a democratic spirit for social ends. It is not anarchistic, if anarchy means a denial of the class struggle and the preservation of political and economic middle-classism. It is not anarchistic, if anarchy means reaction, or a return to pre-modern industrialism. According to the large variety of anarchists, anarchy is all these.

The I. W. W. is not anarchistic. It is industrial-unionistic. It avoids the anti-organization impotency of anarchism on one hand and the bureaucracy of state socialism on the other. Anarchists speak of themselves as I. W. W.'s, communists, and socialists. When they so do, they but demonstrate the anarchy of anarchism.

VI.—THE IDEALS OF THE I. W. W.

The ideals of the I. W. W. are ethical in character. They are ideals of justice, fraternity and brotherhood the world over. They spring from the injustices of capitalism, which require the surrender of labor's product to capitalist profits, interest and rent; and, further, compel the subversion of all of labor's

genius and aspirations to the support of the system that viciously despoils and destroys them, as the occasion demands. Against the injustices of capitalism, with their exactions of labor's product and labor's life, working class organizations have always warred, until now they realize, as never before, that it is only through the abolition of capitalism itself that they can escape from them.

The I. W. W. attempts to give this realization practical form. The I. W. W. ideal is that of a working class so organized industrially as to be in a position to take over industry and thereby abolish the Prussianism of the capitalist class the world over; when the necessity for such a course arises, as it appears to be doing more pronouncedly every day.

The ideal of the I. W. W. is industry by, for and of the workers—in a word, industrial democracy. Through a democratic, industrial system, the I. W. W. aims, not to destroy industry, but to eliminate its capitalist exploitation, thereby making it a more actual social institution in every respect than it is at present. Such a system throws the responsibility for its maintenance directly on the bulk of society engaged therein, viz., the workers themselves. Thus, the industrial democracy of the I. W. W. means working class liberation from capitalist thraldom. It means untold benefits to society.

A NEW SOCIAL REBIRTH.

Every class liberation has caused a vast social awakening and rebirth. When the embryonic capitalist class shook off the trammels of the guild system and the divine rights of kings, social development took a mighty leap forward, the greatest in history. When the working class shakes off the incubus of capitalism and the divine rights of the capitalist class, it, too, will give an unprecedented impetus to social progress. For then will be released the

flood of latent possibilities now dammed up by the limitations and proscriptions of capitalism—sweeping many so-called problems before it.

INDUTRIAL DEMOCRACY ALREADY FORMING.

Already is the organized working class regarded as the forerunner of the new industrial democracy, a democracy in which the extremes of privileged wealth and power for the few and poverty-stricken slavery and denial of opportunity for the many will be transformed into the greatest development of all on a basis of economic and social equality.

Already is the working class showing great executive and organizing ability, great grasp and understanding of weighty problems, in its co-operative, political and labor movements. These involve billions of capital and human happiness untold.

Already is the working class demonstrating the possession of great statesmanship in its conferences and conflicts with governments and capitalists, on strike issues and questions of national and international importance. The increase in ability in this respect is only matched by the increase in determination to prevail.

Already is the working class developing great personalities that in other times might have been the engineers, generals, orators, poets, etc., of those times, men whose names glow with pride in the imagination and hearts of the working men who appreciate both the greatness and the weaknesses of mankind.

Already is the working class creating a press, a forum, a drama, a literature, an art of its own—a network of institutions and activities, a many-sided culture, a dawning epoch, whose penetrating influences bring ever more talent to its expansion, to the great detriment of capitalist culture and the slow destruction of the capitalist epoch itself.

LABOR ABLE TO RE-CREATE SOCIETY.

It will not do for capitalism to cry out that labor is not competent to undertake the great task of social transformation, for it is on the competence of hired labor of all degrees and kinds that capitalism now depends; only, capitalist policy destroys the competence of labor, just as it destroys the products of the soil, in order to keep up profits.

Nor will it do for capitalism to say that labor is without either ability or genius, for capitalism, in order to secure labor's support, by bribes of place and position, parades the names of railroad presidents and inventors who originally sprang from the ranks of the working class. The working class is now, as always, a mine of ability and genius—a pay streak that always pans out well for the capitalists, and that will pan out well for future society.

Nor will it avail capitalism any to claim that the working class is lacking in either morality, responsibility, or thrift. Without these virtues in the working class, capitalism itself could not endure a moment. It is working class honesty and fidelity to duty that keeps capitalist billions intact and enables the railroads and all the other enterprises to run on scheduled time and in due order. As for thrift, whose are the savings in banks? Who pays the industrial life insurance premiums? Who joins the building and loan associations, the co-operative societies and the credit unions? The capitalist press answer is, the wage earners!

All that we can say is "God help capitalist property, if ever the working class get the capitalist idea of morality, responsibility and thrift, for then society will be an even worse chaos and slaughter house than capitalist 'virtue' has already made it."

I. W. W. IDEAL A WELL-ROUNDED ONE.

The ideal of the I. W. W. is one of more rounded development for all. To this end, it aims to secure

more leisure and diversified employment. Just as many able men find recreation and expansion in the pursuit of many vocations and avocations, so it is the ideal of the I. W. W. to create conditions admitting of a many-sided growth in the average worker. By these means, the average worker will become a better judge of questions affecting industry and life in general. Combined with his own varied abilities, will be other and like abilities, to the advantage of all concerned.

This rounded development is already beginning in the working class. In working class life, many workers may be found who are not only proficient in their own particular industrial specialty, but who are, in addition, organizers, speakers, parliamentarians, editors, writers, poets, musicians, etc., etc. The varied requirements of industry, with their seasonal and uncertain employment, give rise to another variety of many-sided workers. So also does the ambition to escape wage slavery give rise to students of all kinds among the working class.

In brief, it may be said that the more highly developed worker of the future is already in the making. The ideal of the I. W. W. is to continue the tendencies thus begun, especially so as to transform the workers now employed in brain-benumbing and soul-destroying occupations into better material for the new society.

Education is not the only I. W. W. function. Preparation is another one.

CAPITALISM ITSELF HELPS REVOLUTION.

Capitalism itself helps along the revolutionary process, though unwillingly and unconsciously. Its profits must ever be replenished, its property abnormally increased. To these ends, it educates even the lowest strata of the workers. And higher up on the mountain tops, it makes scientists and technicians of those who toil, in order that it alone may accumulate and become all-powerful.

The process of educating the worker under capitalism is revolutionary. It not only transforms the brain of the workers but also their outlooks and aspirations. They soon perceive that upon them depends capitalist civilization and that without them it could not exist. Consequently, the modern working class tends steadily to wish to possess the entire contents of capitalism, power and all. Not for themselves alone, to the subjugation and degradation of others, but for the good of all; for the fraternity and brotherhood of all.

Where, in ancient Rome and Greece, the philosophers and geniuses, like Aesop, became slaves, under capitalism the slaves—their name is legion—become philosophers and geniuses. They labor for a new social rebirth, that, in the very nature of social evolution, cannot be denied to them, except at the peril of a reversion to savagery for the entire human race. Humanity rises and falls with the working class.

EMANCIPATION RICH IN POSSIBILITIES.

The liberation of the working class from the thraldom of capitalism is rich in beneficial possibilities. Consider the harm done to productive labor by capitalism. Capitalism coerces labor. It denies to labor the right to organize or to bargain collectively. The result is a continuous warfare between capital and labor, that tends to the increased demoralization of industry, and incredible losses to society. Remove capitalism, give to labor its own products, and the incentive thus created will be productive of greater industrial output and social security. It will save society from the chaos now threatening, because of the increasing intensity of the struggle between the capitalist and the working classes.

Society must, perforce, recognize that coerced, dissatisfied labor is never efficient labor. Nor is the labor that intuitively, perhaps unconsciously, feels the degradation of capitalist paternalism. Nor, further yet, is monotonous, machine-driven labor. Labor that is without incentive, self-respect or prospects of development, is wasteful labor. It is discontented labor, perhaps not turbulently nor violently, but instinctively. Capitalism is sabotaging itself in the creation of modern, discontented labor. And though it lashes labor with whips of scorpions—nay, because it so lashes labor—will its own sabotaging tendencies increase. Capitalism is itself, automatically, destructive of labor's productivity and labor's loyalty.

Release labor from thankless capitalism! Release labor from paternalistic capitalism! Release labor from oppressive capitalism! Release labor from degrading, enslaving capitalism, and you release forces for social good that only the workingman who knows, in his own person, the repression of capitalism, can dream of!

Give labor its own mastery! Throw labor on its own responsibility! Give labor a sense of manhood and womanhood of infinite possibilities—do all this, and you give to society an impetus to productivity that will be unprecedented. History—the history of the abolition of chattel slavery and of feudalism—approves such action in advance, for such history is the history of great social impetus, thanks to class liberation!

I. W. W. NOT STATE SOCIALISM.

The ideals of the I. W. W. are not the ideals of state socialism. State socialism is based on political representation. It is bureaucratic. Its function is not to administer but to govern. Its aim is to raise the levies needed for army nad navy expenditures. It tends to replace the oppression of the private capitalist with that of the authority of the state. It makes the state the employer and capitalist. It makes the politician the ruler. It insures the income of the capitalist bondholders who finance it. It is pro-capitalist and anti-proletarian.

I. W. W. INDUSTRIAL ADMINISTRATION.

The ideals of the I. W. W. are the ideals of industrial administration. The industrial republic of the I. W. W. is based on occupational or industrial representation. Its function is to bring together all the factors of industry, in order to meet industrial needs and fulfill social requirements. Its concern is not to repress, but to develop; not to govern, but to adjust —to administer according to the wisdom of the workers most basically and directly concerned. It makes the workers their own employers, their own capitalists, their own beneficiaries.

The ideals of the I. W. W. are not ideals of mob government. To scientists and technicians will go the problems of chemistry and management, to be worked out in co-operation with all the labor elements involved. Artists, sculptors, architects, will concern themselves with art, sculpture, architecture; teachers with education; railroad men with transportation; the factory workers with the factory. All will be organized according to their industry and entitled to representation in the industrial republic on the basis of their employment.

I. W. W. ENCOURAGES INDUSTRIAL STUDY.

The ideals of the I. W. W. are such as to encourage and require a study of industry in all its phases. It has given a new interest to technology, as a result, that cannot fail to be of far-reaching value to the new society coming. As a beginning, several of the I. W. W. industrial unions have organized a Bureau of Industrial Research to prepare handbooks on each of the great industries of the world, simply written and sold at cost price.

This work has already taken practical shape in the woolen industry. The I. W. W. members employed therein have classified all of the woolen factories in the country, together with their location, nearness to sources of supplies and markets, annual

output, etc. They have classified this data with a view to its practical use, believing that it will be necessary to enable successful management by the workers, when occasion requires.

The conclusion of I. W. W. textile studies is that many of the woolen factories may be disbanded or consolidated, and an increase of 40 per cent in output effected. They refuse to give this information to employers now, as they want its benefits to go to the workers' industrial democracy instead of the capitalist exploiters of their genius.

The slogan, "Get wise to your industry," is one repeatedly sounded in I. W. W. press and discussion.

I. W. W. A TENDENCY, NOT A THEORY.

The ideals of the I. W. W. are not the ideals of theory, but of tendencies. In this country, for instance, before the war, the teachers' union demanded "democracy in education and education in democracy." Education, in other words, should be more by, of and for educators, in the interests of all, than by, and of, politicians, business men and intellectual slaves, for the perpetuation of capitalism. After the war, the Plumb plan appeared, with provision for the part management of the railroads by classified railroad workers.

Other and more striking phenomena, indicating the rise of I. W. W. ideals in the tendencies of the day, are to be observed in the extra-political round-table conferences at Washington, D. C., called to allay labor unrest. But still more striking is the 1919 coal crisis, wherein we saw a titanic struggle whose sole issue was the administration of the coal industry on a basis satisfactory to labor. This issue required the setting aside of the usual legislative and private procedure, and called forth extraordinary measures. In fact, industrial problems tend to become ever more extra-political, legal and ethical in their adjustment and solution.

This same development toward the realization of the I. W. W. idealism is world-wide. What the teachers and railroad workers are striving to do here, the railroad men, postal employes, miners, teachers, actors and others are striving to do in England, Italy and France. In Russia, they have achieved what their brothers elsewhere are yearning to do—the latter now more than ever before—thanks to the stimulation of Russian example.

ITALIAN AND UNITED STATES RAILROADERS SUSTAIN I. W. W. IDEALISM.

The urge toward the idealism of the I. W. W. is to be found in the increasing self-knowledge of the workers. To this may be added an increasing recognition of the inefficiency, corruption and inhumanity of capitalism. In Italy, in 1910, the Union of Italian Railroaders, inspired by socialist ideals and the bad conditions of the railroad system, proclaimed themselves ready to operate the railroads. Their contentions sound almost like those of the United States railroad men of the present day. Through Odon Por they alleged that the state had proved its utter incapacity for managing the railroads, because, primarily, of graft. Our railroaders say, because, primarily, of looting by private financial groups. The Italians further stated that the technical incompetence and deficiency of the bureaucratic administration called to run the enterprise had demoralized the whole passenger and freight traffic and caused a growing deficit in the treasury of the state. Our railroaders allege the very same condition, which, they say, was created for the purpose of causing a sentiment favorable to the return of the railroads to private control. The Italian railroaders of 1910 go on to declare that while the state has created thousands of new sinecures and highly paid offices, it has utterly neglected the technical part of the system. The American 1919 repetition is almost identically

the same. The Italian railroaders clinch the matter by contending that, on the other hand, the industrially organized railroad men have learned through continuous discussion of the details of the system, the principles of organizing, managing, and combining its factors. Their constructive and analytic criticism disclosed all the flaws of the railroad administration, proved that the state is an uneconomical institution, and demonstrated all the detail necessary to a successful reorganization of the railroads. They indicated that they must get back, above all, their whole liberty, and that in order to secure from the railroads greater benefits for the public, they must become personally interested in the enterprise. This is practically the American railroaders' approach to, and solution of, the railroad problem, also. It is the way labor approaches all modern problems, through its own direct participation and solution on the job—its own direct action, growing out of its own contact with conditions and the recognition of the need for its own organized initiative.

CAPITALISM FORCES I. W. W. FORWARD.

In this country, labor is not organized to take over and run industry, in order to overcome capitalist inefficiency. American labor, outside of the I. W. W., is organized only to bargain with the capitalist, according to crafts. It is not organized industrially to take over industry. However, it will be forced, nay, is being forced, to abandon that misconception of labor organization. Its own defeats are causing it to recognize the closely knit character of the modern industrial system and to organize, accordingly, within it, for its control and management in the interests of society by the industrially organized workers. In this work, labor everywhere will be aided by the growing paralysis of modern life, through capitalist incompetence and principles. The latter, in the face of increasing technical knowledge, tend to increase

social dangers by stimulating high prices, inflation, strikes, overproduction, unemployment, crises, and, last but most important and sinister of all, wars.

The prospects of the future, judged by the horrors of the past, are that society will either have to overturn capitalism, or be overturned by it. With the same capitalist tendencies at work in world-struggles as formerly, with Japan taking the place of Germany as the imperialist-capitalist goat, because of its grasp on Asia, there is need for a constructive, evolutionary plan by which society may be saved and civilization actually restored once more. American labor, as represented by the A. F. of L., has no plan. So far as the A. F. of L. is concerned, society can go to hell. It is the I. W. W. only that foresees and prepares against just such a disaster.

The I. W. W. plan is evolutionary, peaceful. Capitalism alone will make it revolutionary and violent. All signs point that way. The age-old struggle between the new and the old is being repeated once more on an unprecedented scale. The brand of Cain will be on capitalism's head in the future as in the past.

I. W. W. IDEALISM COLOSSAL.

The idealism of the I. W. W. is immense in its magnitude. It strides more continents than the Colossus of Rhodes. Its heralds are the seafarers on the waters of the earth, the cables beneath, and the aeroplane in the heavens above. No transatlantic engineer throws a throttle but what he puts steam not only into his engine but into the boiler of the I. W. W. No Leviathan plows the ocean except to carry the argosies of the I. W. W. to a world constantly growing smaller and more neighborly in its popular inclinations. The world was Tom Paine's country, to do good his religion. The I. W. W. has the same fatherland as Tom Paine, the same ethical aspirations.

To subjugate the world was the dream of Alex-

ander, Caesar and Kaiser Wilhelm. To free the world from subjugation is that of the I. W. W. To carry on, not in world-slaughter, but in world-emancipation, is the I. W. W. object. To create, not a world-republic of letters, but one of labor, such is the I. W. W. mission, aided by world development.

I. W. W. COMES TO BUILD UP, NOT TEAR DOWN

The ideals of the I. W. W., let it be said again and again, are constructive, not destructive. The I. W. W. aims to build up, not to tear down. It erects the new society on material provided by the old. It carries progress to higher material and ethical planes. It retains giant, co-operative industry, with its profuse wealth-production, for all, because it is only made possible by all, and not by the few who now exploit it and grow powerful and tyrannical from the exploitation.

The ideals of the I. W. W. are co-operative, not competitive. They are social, not individualistic. The I. W. W. views man as at war with nature and compelled to unite to wrest from nature the secret of its forces and the means for man's own subsistence. Only as man ceases to war with man will nature yield up her secrets and man triumph over necessity. To the degree that man does this does man pass from the stage of beastly materialism to a far-flung brotherhood, unsurpassed and unsung in all history.

The ideals of the I. W. W. aim to develop well-being in all of its phases. The I. W. W. aims to abolish poverty. To poverty, the I. W. W. opposes the increasing fecundity of nature under scientific exploitation and the increasing productivity of the mechanical genius of man. The I. W. W. aims to abolish class hatred. To class hatred, the I. W. W. opposes a society made one by common, fraternal interests. The I. W. W. aims to abolish war. To war, the I. W. W. opposes the cementing influence of

world-industry, aided by the growing world-consciousness of the world's workers.

The ideals of the I. W. W. are real, not utopian. They have their origin, their embryo, in capitalist development. They aim to continue this development further for the good of all instead of the aggrandizement of a few. The capitalists are now the only romanticists, the only utopians. They believe the impossible and imagine the impossible. Though they know their system evolved out of previous systems, they hug the fond delusion that evolution will stop with it. And they are called "hard-headed men." That's what they are, indeed. Their "ivory domes" are so hard that the absurdity of their ideas will never penetrate to their alleged brains, or so-called vision.

THE IMMORTALITY OF IDEALISM.

Idealism is irrepressible. It never dies. The idealism of the I. W. W. cannot be repressed, because it is the idealism of a new epoch already challenging and overthrowing that of the old. The I. W. W. has suffered martyrdom and still thrives. Its attempts to revitalize the initiative and the energy of tens of millions the world over is an attempt to which it gives foremost expression but not birth. It is the working class themselves the world over, reacting from the futilities and horrors of capitalism, that have given birth to the movement for industrial democracy, industrial fraternity and industrial communism. On them, and on the forces behind them, depends this great movement. You may kill the I. W. W. but you can't kill them.

History should cause the oppressors of the I. W. W. to pause. The scaffold never yet killed an ideal, or throttled a movement inherent in the nature of events or in the hearts and heads of mankind. The early Christians were massacred. The Appian Way was lighted up by torches made of live Christians.

The Christians were butchered to make a Roman holiday. Despite this fiendish, diabolical treatment, Christianity flourished and grew. And though Constantine, in order to destroy its revolutionary features, made a state religion of it, the communism of Christ now reasserts itself on a more practical and grander scale in the communism of Lenin.

JOHN BROWN'S SOUL STILL MARCHES ON.

Lovejoy's press was thrown into the river and he himself was afterward murdered. William Lloyd Garrison was dragged through Boston streets with a rope around his neck. John Brown was hanged. Yet his soul marches on, not only to the abolition of chattel slavery, but of wage slavery, too; John Brown still lives, reincarnated in the abolitionists of modern times.

For over 700 years has Ireland been oppressed and devastated. Yet Irish idealism lives unconquered. The Emmets of yesterday are replaced by the Connollys of today. During the year 1918 British imperialism claimed forty million victims in India. Instead of destroying Indian idealism, this staggering murder but increases it, giving it a heroism and grandeur unparalleled. Tens of millions more have died in the world-war, on the battlefields and as a result of the various economic blockades. Nevertheless, despite this appalling blight, humanity everywhere raises its crushed spirits and aspires to end monstrosities once more. To the communism of capital the world over, with its rapine and slaughter for profit and property, it opposes the communism of labor, with its brotherhood of all and its peace for all.

IDEALISM ALWAYS INSPIRING.

Idealism is historic. Though it never teaches oppression, it always inspires the oppressed. And it is the idealism of the ages that inspires the I. W.

W., backed by modern imperialist-capitalist tendencies. So long as the latter have nothing but a huge slaughter house to offer humanity, for the profit of a few, so long will humanity endeavor to end them, in the interests of all.

Notwithstanding all the slanders cast upon it, by oppressors who misuse and coerce it, human nature is not so vile as to tolerate the foulness of capitalist "civilization" indefinitely. Capitalism has been weighed and found wanting. The handwriting is on the wall. The new era already casts its shadows before.

So the I. W. W. looks forward, not backward, buoyed alike by the sacrifices of the past, the prospects of the present and the possibilities of the future. It believes that, no matter what happens, evolution will continue to evolve and revolution to revolve. All things live, run their appointed course and die. Life is a transition to a better existence. So says theology. So says the I. W. W. Brief has been the span of capitalism's existence, barely 150 years since its first pronounced appearances. And today sees it nearly undone, struggling desperately to survive, and taking on the look of galvanic life rather than new vitality. And the new society looms up large ahead. History may write its grandest records on its pages.

The present cannot long endure. Its antecedents are against it. All precedents, as the lawyers say, are against it. Co-operative in character, and depending on all for existence, capitalist exploitation must be eliminated from co-operative industry, in the interests of all.

Under all of the foregoing circumstances, to lynch, tar and feather, outlaw, and otherwise maltreat the I. W. W., will avail capitalism nothing. Persecution warms the hearts of men toward the I. W. W. Persecution causes men to lend ear to the I. W. W. Persecution makes proselytes for the I. W. W. more numerously than it makes martyrs. It is this over-

production of proselytes that makes the business of ideal extermination humanly impossible. And it is this overproduction that will finally submerge capitalist exploitation everywhere.

THE I. W. W. A CALL TO THE BEST IN MAN.

The I. W. W. is a call to the wise, the kind, the generous of all mankind, especially to the working class. It is not a bravado's defiance to social development, but the cumulative reasoning of many great minds, perhaps crudely applied, but at least possessed of all their elemental strength. It is germinal, rather than full-grown. It is a beginning, rather than a completed article. It is raw, rather than refined; real, rather than sophisticated; apparently intricate, yet simple; reckless, yet with reason. It is a wonderful manifestation, a multi-compound of psychology, economics, sociology, government, art, poetry, ethics and religion. Yes, religion! Fanatical, sublime! The religion that makes living its creed; that would endow men with the attributes of gods instead of monsters; that has its Christs in its Littles and its Calvary on the railroad bridge from which he was dangled; that knows first causes, appreciates the inner personality, the soul, of Labor, and that seeks the Kingdom of Heaven here on earth in a more beautiful existence for all men.

Dreamers! yes! So were the communists of the early Christian Church. So were the abolitionists of chattel slavery. So were the builders of the capitalist structure, now cracked at the foundation and in danger of collapse. For, what is it to dream, if not to achieve?

And, considering all the signs, the I. W. W. is destined to achieve.

THE END.

CREDIT WHERE CREDIT IS DUE.

The following are the sources of the material used in this handbook:

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CHAPTER III: "The I. W. W., Its History, Structure and Methods," Vincent St. John (I. W. W. Publishing Bureau, Chicago, Ill.); "Speech of Wm. D. Haywood on Case of Ettor and Giovannitti, Cooper Union, New York," pamphlet Ettor-Giovannitti Defense Committee, Lawrence, Mass. (out of print); "Capital," Karl Marx (Swann-Sonnenschein ed., p. 786); "The Rise of a New Society," Justus Ebert (out of print); files of I. W. W. press and personal recollections of the present writer.

CHAPTER IV: Largely derived from contemporaneous capitalist, labor and I. W. W. press, One Big Union Monthly, and I. W. W. leaflets, such as "Justice to the Negro," "An Address to American Workers," "Why We Lost the Last Strike," "Driving the Idea Into the Printer's Brain," etc. etc.; also "The Trial of a New Society," Justus Ebert (out of print); "The I. W. W., Its History, Structure and Methods," Vincent St. John (I. W. W. Pub. Bureau, Chicago, Ill.); "The Lizard's Trail," Carl E. Person (Lake

Pub. Co., Chicago, Ill.; and personal impressions of the present writer.

CHAPTER V: "Conditions of Labor in American Industries," Lauck & Syndenstricker (Funk & Wagnalls, New York); "The Socialist Almanac," Lucian Sanial (New York Labor News Co., New York); "The High Cost of Living," Frederic C. Howe (Scribner Co., New York); "The Industrial Situation," F. T. Carlton (Revell Co., New York); Scott Nearings Special Article Service; "An Appeal to Timber and Lumber Workers and a Chapter to Farmers Who Farm the Farms," Jay Smith, Alexandria, La.; articles on "Tenant Farmers," Covington Hall (I. W. W. press); "Labor and the League of Nations," Scott Nearing (Rand School, New York); "The Everett Massacre," Walker C. Smith (I. W. W. Pub. Bureau, Chicago, Ill.); "The High Cost of Living," T. G. Dougherty (out of print).

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APPENDIX I.

THE COMMUNISM OF CAPITAL.
As Seen by Lincoln, Cleveland and Wilson.

The relation of government to industry is the subject of much discussion. Henry D. Lloyd, in his book, "Lords of Industry" (p. 46), sized up the situation thus: "The time has come to face the fact that the forces of capital and industry have outgrown the forces of our government." Frank L. McVey, in his "Modern Industrialism" (p. 288), declares, "The result (of American industrial development) is what might have been expected: an overwhelming organization of industry standing side by side with a state tnat is puny when compared with it."

Other men prominent in American life, notably Dr. Charles Eliot, in his 1911 Fourth of July speech, have expressed substantially the same thought. But more important and interesting still than all of the foregoing is the development of the viewpoints of various Presidents of the United States on the subjects of industry and the state.

On Nov. 21, 1864, President Lincoln wrote to Wm. P. Elkin a letter in which he said:

> I see in the near future a crisis approaching that unnerves me and causes me to tremble for the safety of my country. As a result of war, corporations have been enthroned, and an era of corruption, in high places, will follow, and the money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people, until all the wealth is segregated into few hands and the republic is destroyed. I feel, at this moment, more anxiety for the safety of my country than ever before, even in the midst of war. God grant that my suspicions may prove groundless.

In how far Lincoln's suspicions proved well founded is shown in the 1888 message of President Grover Cleveland, who warned against the control of government by "the communism of capital." Said President Cleveland:

> Communism is a hateful thing and a menace to peace and organized government. But the communism of combined wealth and capital, the outgrowth of overweening cupidity and selfishness, which assiduously undermines the justice and integrity of free institutions, is not less dangerous than the communism of oppressed poverty and toil, which, exasperated by injustice and discontent, attacks with wild disorder the citadel of misrule.

Now finally, as if to verify both Lincoln and Cleveland, and also mark the development of industrial control in this country—the triumph of the communism of capital—we have President Woodrow Wilson's expose of "invisible government." Says the greatest of war presidents, Woodrow Wilson, in his book, "The New Freedom" (p. 57):

> The masters of the government of the United States are the combined capitalists and manufacturers of the United States.

The student of American development can well afford to reflect and ponder on these unofficial and official contributions to a correct understanding of the relative strength of industry and government in the United States. Remember, they are not Socialist contributions, nor anarchist contributions, nor I. W. W. contributions. They are what opponents to socialism, anarchism and I. W. W.ism regard as "100 per cent American" contributions. Read those names over again—Lincoln, Cleveland, Wilson—and be convinced!

APPENDIX II.

INDUSTRIAL UNION MANIFESTO.

Issued by Conference of Industrial Unionists at Chicago, January 2, 3 and 4, 1905.

Social relations and groupings only reflect mechanical and industrial conditions. The great facts of present industry are the displacement of human skill by machines and the increase of capitalist power through concentration in the possession of the tools with which wealth is produced and distributed.

Because of these facts trade divisions among laborers and competition among capitalists are alike disappearing. Class divisions grow ever more fixed and class antagonisms more sharp. Trade lines have been swallowed up in a common servitude of all workers to the machines which they tend. New machines, ever replacing less productive ones, wipe out whole trades and plunge new bodies of workers into the ever-growing army of tradeless, hopeless unemployed. As human beings and human skill are displaced by mechanical progress, the capitalists need use the workers only during that brief period when muscles and nerves respond most intensely. The moment the laborer no longer yields the maximum of profits he is thrown upon the scrap pile, to starve, alongside the discarded machine. A deadline has been drawn, and an age limit established, to cross which, in this world of monopolized opportunities, means condemnation to industrial death.

The worker, wholly separated from the land and the tools, with his skill of craftsmanship rendered useless, is sunk in the uniform mass of wage slaves. He sees his power of resistance broken by class di-

visions, perpetuated from outgrown industrial stages. His wages constantly grow less as his hours grow longer and monopolized prices grow higher. Shifted hither and thither by the demands of profit-takers, the laborer's home no longer exists. In this helpless condition he is forced to accept whatever humiliating conditions his master may impose. He is submitted to a physical and intellectual examination more searching than was the chattel slave when sold from the auction block. Laborers are no longer classified by difference in trade skill, but the employer assigns them according to the machines to which they are attached. These divisions, far from representing differences in skill or interests among the laborers, are imposed by the employer, that workers may be pitted against one another and spurred to greater exertion in the shop, and that all resistance to capitalist tyranny may be weakened by artificial distinctions.

While encouraging these outgrown divisions among the workers the capitalists carefully adjust themselves to the new conditions. They wipe out all differences among themselves and present a united front in their war upon labor. Through employers' associations, they seek to crush, with brutal force, by the injunctions of the judiciary and the use of military power, all efforts at resistance. Or when the other policy seems more profitable, they conceal their daggers beneath the Civic Federation and hoodwink and betray those whom they would rule and exploit. Both methods depend for success upon the blindness and internal dissensions of the working class. The employers' line of battle and methods of warfare correspond to the solidarity of the mechanical and industrial concentration, while laborers still form their fighting organizations on lines of long-gone trade divisions. The battles of the past emphasize this lesson. The textile workers of Lowell, Philadelphia and Fall River; the butchers of Chicago, weakened by the disintegrating effects of trade divisions; the machinists on the Santa Fe, unsupported by

their fellow-workers subject to the same masters; the long-struggling miners of Colorado, hampered by lack of unity and solidarity upon the industrial battlefield, all bear witness to the helplessness and impotence of labor as at present organized.

This worn-out and corrupt system offers no promise of improvement and adaptation. There is no silver lining to the clouds of darkness and despair settling down upon the world of labor.

This system offers only a perpetual struggle for slight relief from wage slavery. It is blind to the possibility of establishing an industrial democracy, wherein there shall be no wage slavery, but where the workers will own the tools which they operate, and the product of which they alone should enjoy.

It shatters the ranks of the workers into fragments, rendering them helpless and impotent on the industrial battlefield.

Separation of craft from craft renders industrial and financial solidarity impossible.

Union men scab upon union men; hatred of worker for worker is engendered, and the workers are delivered helpless and disintegrated into the hands of the capitalists.

Craft jealousy leads to the attempt to create trade monopolies.

Prohibitive initiation fees are established that force men to become scabs against their will. Men whom manliness or circumstances have driven from one trade are thereby fined when they seek to transfer membership to the union of a new craft.

Craft divisions foster political ignorance among the workers, thus dividing their class at the ballot box, as well as in the shop, mine and factory.

Craft unions may be and have been used to assist employers in the establishment of monopolies and the raising of prices. One set of workers are thus used to make harder the conditions of life of another body of laborers.

Craft divisions hinder the growth of class consciousness of the workers, foster the idea of harmony of interests between employing exploiter and employed slave. They permit the association of the misleaders of the workers with the capitalists in the Civic Federation, where plans are made for the perpetuation of capitalism, and the permanent enslavement of the workers through the wage system.

Previous efforts for the betterment of the working class have proved abortive because limited in scope and disconnected in action.

Universal economic evils afflicting the working class can be eradicated only by a universal working class movement. Such a movement of the working class is impossible while separate craft and wage agreements are made favoring the employer against other crafts in the same industry, and while energies are wasted in fruitless jurisdictional struggles which serve only to further the personal aggrandizement of union officials.

A movement to fulfill these conditions must consist of one great industrial union embracing all industries—providing for craft autonomy locally, industrial autonomy internationally, and working class unity generally.

It must be founded on the class struggle, and its general administration must be conducted in harmony with the recognition of the irrepressible conflict between the capitalist class and the working class.

It should be established as the economic organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party.

All power should rest in a collective membership.

Local, national and general administration, including union labels, buttons, badges, transfer cards, initiation fees and per capita tax, should be uniform throughout.

All members must hold membership in the local, national or international union covering the industry

in which they are employed, but transfers of membership between unions, local, national or international, should be universal.

Workingmen bringing union cards from industrial unions in foreign countries should be freely admitted into the organization.

The general administration should issue a publication representing the entire union and its principles, which should reach all members in every industry at regular intervals.

A central defense fund, to which all members contribute equally, should be established and maintained.

All workers, therefore, who agree with the principles herein set forth, will meet in convention at Chicago the 27th day of June, 1905, for the purpose of forming an economic organization of the working class along the lines marked out in this manifesto.

APPENDIX III.

PREAMBLE

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among the millions of the working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's pay," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with the capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

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